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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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14 September 1984

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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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BULGARIA

NAVY DAY CELEBRATIONS REPORTED

Naval Parade in Varna

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Aug 84 pp 1-2

[Report by Capt 1st Rank Yani Poptomov; for the NARODNA ARMIYA text of the speech delivered by Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov on Navy Day, see the Bulgaria section of the FBIS DAILY REPORT: EASTERN EUROPE of 15 August 1984, page C 5.]

[Text] Varna, 12 August (by telephone from our own correspondent). This Sunday morning the Sea Garden was particularly active. The Varna population and guests from other parts of the country had come here to share the joy of the seamen, for traditionally Bulgarian Navy Day has become a nationwide holiday, a day of paying homage to the exploits of the heroes who sacrificed their lives for our freedom, a day of admiration of the courage and combat skill of the armed defenders of our native shores.

Marches and revolutionary songs, fiery poems for the homeland and the party and the heroism and friendship born in the struggle against the elements are echoing over the beaches and the sea.

Welcomed with applause, the following personalities took their places on the decorated rostrum: Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman; Yordan Yotov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and editor-in-chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO; Dimitur Stoyanov and Stanish Bonev, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation; Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army; Admiral Ivan Dobrev and Col Gen Mircho Asenov, deputy ministers of national defense; Dimitur Popov and Dimitur Dimitrov, respectively first secretaries of the Varna and Tolbukhin okrug party committees, party and state leaders of the okrug and the city; generals, admirals, navy veterans and naval commanders. Also present were Leonid Grekov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to our country; Vice-Admiral Fedor Saveliyev, assistant to the representative of the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact for the navy; and heads of the consulates accredited in Varna.

The straight ranks of the ship's companies are on deck. Under the sounds of "Glory to Our Party," students at the N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher Navy Academy

solemnly raise the state flags of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

The launch of the parade master Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, appears. He is accompanied by Admiral Aleksey Kalinin, commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR, and Admiral Vasil Yanakiev, commander of the Bulgarian Navy. It is welcomed by the launch of the parade commandant Officer Dimo Denev. Following the report, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov makes a tour around the ship and greets the crews on the occasion of their battle holiday. Noted among them are officers Damyanov, Marinov, Atanasov, Stanchev and Krushev, Midshipmen Ginchev and Dyulgerov, Petty Officers 1st Rank Zhelev and Marinov, Petty Officers 2nd Class Kurtev, Yavashev and Milchev and able seamen Kostadinov, Petrov and others, who have contributed with their will and professional skill to upgrading the combat-readiness of ships and units. The parade ranks also include our Soviet guests.

The launches sail to the shore, after which Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, presented his speech of greetings (published elsewhere).

The speech by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov was welcomed with stormy applause. The navy band played the Bulgarian anthem and the guns fired their holiday salute.

Coming from the east, launches carrying the flags of the Warsaw Pact members sail along the line of ships on parade. Their thundering engines are still echoing when jet aircraft fly over. This is the symbolic combat salute of the air force.

Torpedo launchers show up from behind the jetty, mounting a headlong attack. Standing on their bridges and combat posts are excellent and first-rate specialists Sr Lt Georgi Georgiev, Chief Petty Officer Nedyalko Stanev and Petty Officer 1st Class Ivan Grozev. The commanders have computed the battle course precisely. "Fire!" The torpedo rushes toward the "enemy" ship. Explosion. The target is hit!

A group of "enemy" aircraft approaches the ships. "Air alarm!" is sounded. The guns fire volley after volley and the "enemy" is defeated.

An "enemy" submarine is detected with radio engineering instruments. A group of helicopters undertakes a search in the designated area. The success will depend on the sniper skills of the air troops. The navy respectfully knows the names of excellent and graded specialists Officers Ivanov, Zhekov, Bankov, Yakovski and Petrov, Midshipmen Markov and Todorov, Petty Officer 1st Class Damyanov and others.

The target is indicated with special bombs and the contact is received by the anti-submarine ships which deluge the "enemy" with depth charges and destroy him.

Combat events follow one after the other. The "enemy" undersea and surface and air attacks have been repulsed. The celebration goes on. A landing ship approaches the shore. Pioneer girls and school children come out and present flowers to the officials. Neptune, accompanied by an exotic retinue, solemnly approaches the rostrum. The ruler of the seas and oceans greets the Black Sea men on the occasion of their combat holiday.

This is followed by sports exercises which demonstrate the power and beauty of sea sports. Parachutists jump near the stands with enviable precision. Navy divers emerge ashore and fire a salute with their weapons.

That evening citizens and guests of our Black Sea capital city admired the ships decorated with strings of lights and the holiday illumination.

This marked the end of Bulgarian Navy Day. It was a day at which the balance of achievements was drawn up and a warning issued to anyone who would dare to disturb the peaceful toil of our people.

#### Solemn Meeting in Varna

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Aug 84 pp 1-2

[Text] That Saturday the Palace of Sports and Culture was the center of attraction for the navy personnel, the working people and Bulgarian and foreign guests in Varna. It was here that the traditional solemn meeting on the occasion of Bulgarian Navy Day was held.

Warmly greeted by those present, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Yordan Yotov, BCP Central Committee member and editor-in-chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO; Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army; Deputy Ministers of National Defense Admiral Ivan Dobrev and Col Gen Mircho Asenov; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee; Admiral Vasil Yanakiev, commander of the navy; party and state leaders of the okrug and the city, navy veterans, generals and admirals and navy commanders took their places in the presidium.

The ceremony was also attended by Leonid Grekov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to our country, and Vice-Admiral Fedor Saveliyev, assistant to the representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact for the navy.

The meeting was attended by seamen from the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR, headed by Admiral Aleksey Kalinin, commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet.

The solemn meeting was opened and chaired by Rear Admiral Vulcho Zhelev, chief of the political department of the navy.

On behalf of the Okrug Party Committee, the Okrug People's Council, the party members and the Varna public, Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna

Okrug BCP Committee, greeted the seamen and commanders in the navy on the occasion of their combat holiday.

Greetings were also presented by Admiral Aleksey Kalinin, commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR. He greeted the Bulgarian seamen on behalf of their comrades-in-arms of the great Soviet Navy.

In his answer, Admiral Vasil Yanakiev, commander of the navy, thanked the speakers for their warm greetings. He expressed filial gratitude and thanks of the seamen to the BCP Central Committee and the party committees of the maritime Varna, Burgas and Tolbukhin okrugs for their concern for the problems and needs of the navy.

The speaker expressed the gratitude of the Bulgarian seamen to the seamen and commanders of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet for their fraternal friendship and the readiness with which they share their rich combat and peacetime experience. The exercises conducted so far, Admiral Yanakiev emphasized, and the covering of the training and fire practice tasks and the main results achieved in combat and political training indicate that the Bulgarian navy is welcoming its 40th anniversary with worthy accomplishments. Let me report with satisfaction to the Varna public, to Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee member and minister of national defense and, through him, to the party and the government that the navy personnel is closely rallied around the Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and is ready to carry out any assignment related to defending our socialist homeland and socialism.

A concert was given by the ensembles for songs and dances of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the USSR and the Bulgarian Navy.

After the meeting, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, gave an official dinner in honor of Bulgarian Navy Day.

#### Admiral Dobrev Praises Navy Accomplishments

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 12 Aug 84 p 16

[Article by Admiral Ivan Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense]

[Text] Despite the traditions and lessons of history, bourgeois Bulgaria was unable to create a strong navy. It was only after the victory of the socialist revolution, during the people's regime, that a powerful and modern navy and civilian fleets were created and developed. For the past 40 years they have loyally and reliably stood guard along our native blue maritime border.

The living, training and education conditions of the personnel have changed radically. The navy is staffed with highly trained line and political officer cadres and highly educated personnel who are loyal and totally dedicated to the line and policies of the BCP Central Committee. The seamen are

grateful for all of this to the fatherly concern and constant attention paid to them personally by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leader.

Immediately after 9 September 1944, by decision of the Soviet government, Bulgaria was granted modern navy ships of different classes as well as other complex material facilities and combat equipment, which which the Bulgarian seamen were truly able to defend our maritime borders. These ships were accompanied by the first Soviet specialists who trained within a short time the Bulgarian crews and taught them how to master the complex combat equipment and to use and maintain it properly.

The navy chronicles will record forever the names of noted Soviet seamen such as Sisoyev, Stepanov, Isayev, Koka Yashkov, Romanov, Filipov, Platonov and dozens of others who spared neither their efforts nor tranquility for the sake of strengthening our navy.

This year the Bulgarian seamen will be celebrating their combat holiday--Navy Day--on the eve of a great and bright anniversary: the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. During these preholiday days the Bulgarian seamen, inspired by the remarkable successes of the people, and together with the troops and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army, are persistently and dedicatedly working for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference in improving the quality and efficiency of military work and enhancing the combat capabilities and combat readiness of navy ships and units.

Currently the comprehensive command-organizational and party political work of all command units, political workers and party and komsomol organizations is focused on making the party slogan "High Quality Everywhere and in Everything" their own personal cause and the daily target and task of the entire navy personnel.

The navy seamen are welcoming the 4th decade of their combat holiday with new higher successes in their operative, combat and political training, in the training and upbringing of the personnel and in strengthening the discipline and their political-moral condition.

The recently held tests and exercises with fire practice by ships and other navy units confirmed the increased combat skill of staffs and navy forces in carrying out their naval assignments. They are improving their skill in properly planning and guiding navy combat operations.

The formations, units and ships commanded by Officers Denev, Petrov, Milanov, Monev, Damyanov, Marinov, Nikolayev and many others, who are leading in the socialist competition and have achieved the highest successes in combat and political training, are welcoming their combat holiday with legitimate pride.

The navy party and komsomol members have made a significant contribution to the proper welcoming of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and Navy Day. In answer to the strict party requirements, they

carried out and are continuing to develop a variety of initiatives with which they are successfully mobilizing the young seamen in achieving an excellent mastery of difficult naval work, properly maintaining and impeccably operating weaponry at combat equipment, raising them in a spirit of profound loyalty and dedication to the revolutionary traditions and socialist gains of the party and the people, and making them true patriots and internationalists, ready to defend the homeland and the cause of socialism against any daring aggressor. The Komsomol organizations whose secretaries are Lt Kolev, Lt Borisov, Lt Nedelchev, Lt Velchev, Sr Lt Yankov and others are the acknowledged flag-bearers of their organizations.

Included among those who are steadily upgrading their combat skills are the following who have excelled in combat and political training: Graded Specialists Petty Officers 2nd Class Valentin Minchev, Slav Dimitrov, Julian Barakov, able seamen Todor Goranov, Boyko Bobev and many others.

Our navy is also the legitimate heir and continuator of all positive traditions and qualities of the galaxy of Bulgarian seamen who have worked with dedication for the glory of our homeland and its establishment as a powerful maritime country. Dozens and hundreds of alumni of the N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher Naval Academy who left their combat decks and engine rooms of navy ships transferred to the commercial fleet and, with their high professional and general training and developed feeling of responsibility are successfully spreading the maritime glory of the homeland in the countries and ports of the world's oceans.

With dignity and industriousness many party and komsomol members in the navy are voluntarily contributing to the "Bulgarian Glory" operation, the "Young Seaman" special detachments and the Organization for Defense Assistance, in popularizing the navy profession among young people and training future Bulgarian naval specialists.

Commanders, political workers and party and komsomol members in the navy will realize that the successes they have achieved are not the limit of their possibilities. Under the conditions of the aggravated and difficult military and political situation in the world, by the fault of American imperialism and its NATO partners, the navy sailors are dedicating even greater efforts to strengthen their vigilance and upgrade the combat capability and readiness of the ships and coastal units of the navy. This will be accomplished even more skillfully and reliably through fraternal cooperation with the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet of the Soviet Union and the fleets of the Warsaw Pact members.

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BULGARIA

IMPROVED TRAINING OF AIR FORCE PILOTS URGED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Aug 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Meeting the Requirements of Aerial Combat"]

[Text] Bearing in mind the present international circumstances, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the people's government are making steady efforts to strengthen the defense capability of our socialist homeland. They are doing everything necessary for the armaments and the technical equipment of the people's army and its combat power to remain on a contemporary level.

Further enhancing the combat readiness of aviation units, based on their systematic training and skill in engaging in combat operations under complex aerial circumstances, becomes particularly important in the course of the steady and comprehensive efforts to ensure the safety of the country and the reliable protection of the peaceful toil of the people.

The anti-aircraft defense and air forces are armed today with modern aircraft and helicopters with great combat possibilities. However, regardless of how advanced the equipment may be, the main force and power are those of the people who use it. In the final account, the successful use of weapons in an air battle depends on the professional skill of the troops and, above all, the level of combat training of pilots. That is why tireless attention must be paid to problems related to the further advancement of the ideological tempering and the moral-political and psychological training of the flyers and the enhancement of their flying and tactical skills.

One of the most important prerequisites for the destruction of the enemy in the air is the ability of the flyer to use the complex on-board aircraft weaponry. Modern aerial combat is characterized by the extensive use of space, fast and frequent situation changes, stress and rapid development, which increase the significance of the struggle for gaining time during all the stages of the combat. This also increases the responsibility for prompt decision making and accuracy of execution.

All of this immeasurably increases the requirements governing the tactical training of commanders, staffs and officers in charge of the combat control of the flight personnel. That is why under contemporary conditions the question of upgrading the efficiency and quality of tactical training with fire practice becomes particularly urgent.

Flight tactical training and, particularly, its final stage which involves fire practice is a superior form of training of aviation units, for it makes it possible to assess totally and objectively the tactical training of the commander and the staff, and the practical ability of the flight personnel to carry out assignments in difficult situations on the ground and in the air.

The experience acquired in previous exercises with fire practice indicates that, as a rule, good and excellent results are achieved by commanders, staff and political organs which extensively plan the tests and meet all requirements of modern aerial combat. Such an understanding of the objectives and tasks to be resolved by the collective in most difficult circumstances enabled the command personnel of the air force unit in which Officer Yovchev serves skillfully to plan and carry out efficiently and on a high quality level fire at parachute targets, in day or nighttime. Excellent results were achieved by Sr Lt Engineers Nikolay and Todor Pashov, Lt Engineers Zakov and Nachev and others. Guided by the respective stipulations, the command made an even deeper study of the possibilities of the flight personnel and combat control officers and the condition of the flight equipment and confidently undertook planning and training the personnel for the forthcoming tactical flight exercise with fire practice.

Flyers in many aviation units make skillful use of the high maneuvering qualities of contemporary aircraft, the possibilities of modern sighting systems and armaments in the course of regular flights and different exercises. They are displaying high skills in complex figure-flying and good physical, moral and psychological training. However, shortcomings in the period of preparations for tactical flight exercises are still encountered in some combat collectives. Some commanders do not pay the necessary attention to the moral-psychological training of the young flyers, the study of the combat possibilities of their aircraft and automated control systems, the handling of the cockpit equipment by the pilots and the observance of safety measures.

It is particularly necessary steadily to enhance the tactical skill of the flyers who must be trained in properly assessing the situation and making accurate decisions. In planning tactical flight exercises we must also take into consideration the condition and development of the air attack facilities of the likely enemy and means of fire and radio electronic counteraction.

The high quality and efficiency of exercises and training greatly depends on the purposeful, specific and operative party-political work which must always be closely related to the assignments. This is one of the most important prerequisites for achieving significant and durable results in combat and political training, which will constitute a worthy gift of anti-aircraft and air force troops in honor of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution and the founding of the Bulgarian people's army.

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BULGARIA

AMENDMENT OF DECISION FOR PROTECTION OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 31 Jul 84 pp 731-732

[Council of Ministers Decree]

[Text] Council of Ministers Decree No 32, Dated 29 June 1984, Amending and Supplementing Council of Ministers Decree No 52 (DV, No 87, 1978).

The Council of Ministers decrees:

1. Article 1 will be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. Paragraph 1 will be amended to read as follows:

"(1) In coordination with the Ministry of Internal Affairs or its territorial units ministries and other departments and organizations will plan and implement comprehensive measures for the protection of projects making extensive use of contemporary technical facilities for protection and enhancing the efficiency of activities of physical safeguards and fire prevention."

2. The following new Paragraph 3 will be added:

"(3) Together with the respective organs and organizations of the Bulgarian Trade Unions ministries, other departments and organizations will:

1. Systematically upgrade the role of labor collectives as managers of socialist property in the protection of the national economy from theft, negligence, waste, breakdowns and fires and in strengthening legality and labor discipline;

2. No less than once a year they will discuss with the labor collectives the state of the physical, technical and fire prevention protection of the projects;

3. They will comprehensively support and assist the voluntary units of working people, the voluntary fire fighting detachments, comrade courts, prevention councils and people's control commissions in the development of their preventive and protective activities."

3. The present Paragraph 3 becomes Paragraph 4.

2. The following new Point 4 will be added to Article 2:

"4. Ministries and other departments and organizations will assign to a specific official control over activities related to the protection of socialist property."

3. Article 3 will be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. In Paragraph 1, at the end of the first sentence, the words "and will be included in the general accounts of the projects" will be added.

2. In Paragraph 2 the words "until the end of 1980" will be replaced by "until the end of 1990."

4. The following new Article 3a will be added:

"Article 3a. (1) In coordination with the authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, within the time set for the formulation of the unified plans for the socioeconomic development of the country, ministries and other departments and organizations will define the projects in which steps must be taken relative to fencing, lighting, installation of comprehensive or other protection, fire alarm and fire extinguishing systems, and the construction of premises for physical and fire prevention safety.

"(2) Every year the economic organizations and establishments will take steps to ensure the physical and fire prevention safety and the functioning of alarm signaling equipment in operated projects, using their own funds on a noncompetitive basis.

"(3) Bulgarian National Bank will not apply the stipulations of economic results and recovery in financing projects stipulated in the preceding paragraphs.

"(4) The choice of fencing will be coordinated with the territorial units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

.....

7. The following new Articles 9a and 9b will be added:

"Article 9a. Ministries and other departments and organizations will provide in their plans funds for implementing measures aimed at improving the protection and fire safety condition of projects within their systems.

"Article 9b. (1) Anyone who fails to implement or who violates the stipulations of the present decree, as a result of which the protection and fire safety of the projects may be worsened, will be punished as per Article 32 of the Law On Administrative Violations and Penalties.

"(2) Violations will be established with legal documents drawn up by the authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"(3) Penal decrees will be issued by the Minister of Internal Affairs or by his official representatives."

8. Article 10 will be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. Paragraph 1 will be amended to read as follows:

"(1) Ministries and other departments and organizations will check and analyze on an annual basis the safety conditions of the projects within their systems."

2. The following new Paragraphs 2 and 3 will be added:

"(2) Every year the Ministry of Internal Affairs will submit information to the Council of Ministers and its territorial units to the executive committees of the corresponding people's councils on the fire safety condition and protection of more important economic and other projects.

"(3) In coordination with the Minister of Finance, the chairman of the State Committee for Planning and the chairman of the Committee for Labor and Social Affairs, the Minister of Internal Affairs will issue a regulation on the conditions and procedure for the protection of the projects with departmental guards."

3. The present Paragraph 2 becomes Paragraph 4.

Chudomir Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Ivan Shpatov, chief secretary of the Council of Ministers.

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CSO: 2200/180

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LOCAL MEDIA TO OFFER MORE COMPREHENSIVE NEWS COVERAGE

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE in German Vol 7, Jul 84 pp 1-6

[Speech by E. Heinrich, chairman, Association of Journalists: "Tasks of the Association of Journalists in the Further Improvement of Local Journalism"]

[Text] As NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE already reported in brief in its June edition, a conference of the Association of Journalists' (VDJ) central board which brought together local editors, chairmen of regional groups and other association activists discussed the question of how to provide a lively, mass-effective presentation of socialist communal policies in the media. In an address to the more than 200 participants, Eberhard Heinrich, a candidate for the SED central committee and chairman of the VDJ central board, spoke about "the tasks of the VDJ in the further improvement of the quality and effectiveness of local journalism." During the subsequent discussion, colleagues from a number of editorial offices reported on their practical experiences and cited many examples of how the VDJ supports the work of the local editorial offices.

The concluding address at the conference was given by Klaus Raddatz, the deputy director of the SED central committee's agitation department and a member of the VDJ presidium.

Excerpts from the Address by Eberhard Heinrich

Our interest in local journalism is based on a general statement of mission which originated in the social policy development program drawn up and adopted by the 10th party congress of the SED and which has since been understood by all the political organizations of our country and is being implemented. It goes without saying that this is also the case in our own organization. By holding this conference, we are fulfilling a very specific assignment given to us by the 11th VDJ congress. We believe that this is the right moment for it.

We have just gone through the preparatory phase of the communal elections and the elections themselves. Without a doubt, this was a very important event for our society as well as a busy time for the media during which local politics covered the front pages of the newspapers and occupied prime time on radio and television. But that was not all. The editorial offices in their entirety took part in these events; all our colleagues were called upon to deal with local politics and had an opportunity to gain some experience in this field. For some, this was something of a novelty. But in any event these were valuable experiences which we must under no circumstances lose sight of. They will be of use to us (in fact, we must utilize them) in the times ahead into which the newly elected popular representatives—and we along with them—are entering.

No one can deny that the communities and their work toward further fulfillment of the decisions of the 10th party congress will be assuming increased importance and that the initiatives and the solutions of problems are becoming even more significant. In this sense, the role to be played by local journalism—which is important enough as it is—will become even more important in the future.

The purpose of this conference of ours is much the same as that of similar meetings being held in other fields. All of them are designed to evaluate the preparation and execution of the communal elections and to use the experiences gained in the process to find solutions leading to the further implementation of socialist communal policies.

In preparation for our conference, the state and justice/communal politics presidium committee has done particularly valuable work in cataloging and analyzing our more recent and most recent experiences and in building on them. In addition, the secretariat of the central board, working together with the district boards, organized three roundtable discussions: one in Rostock with local journalists from the northern districts; one in Berlin in which colleagues from Frankfurt (Oder), Potsdam, Cottbus and Magdeburg were also invited to participate and a third in Leipzig composed of editors from the southern districts. We also submitted a questionnaire to a number of editors-in-chief and others asking for their opinion on problems, management and solutions.

We also drew on the results of discussions held as part of the central continuing education courses for local journalists and on findings arrived at by researchers and their students at Karl-Marx-University as well as by members of the Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence. We might also mention some articles on this subject which have appeared in this publication.

The speaker continued to address himself to the outcome of the communal elections, calling it an important contribution to peace and a major factor in the international class struggle. In view of the fact that our citizens underscored the outcome of the election by additional hard work

the election may be termed a great victory for all of us and the starting point for new achievements in the fulfillment of the goals of the 10th party congress. The elections have shown that the GDR—even in the 35th year of its existence—is a reliable partner in the alliance of all the forces working for peace and progress in the world and that it is a safe homeland for all of its citizens.

The media of our country and those working for them have made a substantial contribution to the success of the elections and the campaign—and lest we forget, way up front were the local journalists.

The word of thanks which the election commission and the leaderships of the parties and organizations united under the banner of the National Front offered after the election was also addressed to the praiseworthy efforts of the journalistic community. All we can do here is to repeat this word of thanks emphatically to our colleagues and to indicate to them thereby that their commitment has not gone unnoticed but has been appreciated by society.

#### Local Journalists Highly Esteemed

This is true, generally speaking, for our media and those who work for them. But since we are speaking here today of the work of local journalists in particular, it is a time to take note of the fact that their achievements are of great value to society and that they do honor to our profession. In this connection I am by no means only thinking of the elections. To be sure, they marked a high point in the work performed by the local newspapers and the regional radio stations. But day-by-day—so to speak normal—work is no less important and no less time-consuming and it calls for the same commitment, ability and perseverance, the same connections, political sense, empathy and responsibility. In short, it is not only an important piece of work that has to be done and is being done day after day but in many instances it is truly admirable work.

This is not a subjective opinion but an objective fact. Let us simply say that both the significance and the achievements of local journalism have made a lot of progress in our country. By now, local journalism occupies an enviable position on the social ladder and it is still climbing.

By the way, this development is not restricted to the GDR. Internationally, where new technologies and broadcasting possibilities have been markedly expanding, local journalism has not only held on to its position but has extended its influence. The undiminished, intense interest of people in the communication of local information and their concern about local events in particular has been taken advantage of in the imperialist countries for example—and not only by the printed media. It has also led to the creation of local radio and TV stations which cater to these needs and profit from them.

As for us, we did not need any proof as evidenced in these trends on the international media scene. Our interest in the things that concern people most deeply and directly is commensurate with our world view and our mission to change the world for the benefit of mankind. And this not only applies to the so-called "big world" while leaving the "small world" of everyday affairs untouched. Anyone who thinks along these lines is barking up the wrong tree.

Socialist communal politics certainly is not "small-time politics" as against "big-time politics" which looks to the country as a whole or even the world for its standards. The goal of our policies is man himself--as concerns his working and living conditions; his capacity for action and understanding; his physical and spiritual existence. Communal politics in our frame of reference is an organic part of political life as a whole and a particularly important part at that. Let me quote Comrade Honecker who recently said: "It is our job to develop the power of the local people's assemblies and to take advantage of the rich experiences both political and professional of their members. What counts above all is to assure ourselves of the contribution of the people's assemblies and their members as components of the unified state authority working for the fulfillment of the main task in the unity of social and economic policy." At a recent meeting of the SED central committee and the GDR ministerial council with the chairmen of the district councils it was noted that "it depends to a very large extent on the quality of their work how effectively the decisions of the party of the working class and of the government can be implemented." Socialist communal politics thus makes its distinctive and creative contribution to the shaping of developed socialist society where people live, work and make their home. In every city and every village, socialist communal politics plays its part in helping realize the advantages and the potential of socialism. How can anyone speak of "small-time politics" in this connection? It is plain to see that this type of definition—which had its origin in pre-socialist times, for that matter—makes no sense at all.

The worth of a journalist and the respect he enjoys will not be determined by where he works but by the kind of job he does.

And as far as work load is concerned, local editors certainly do not have less but in most instances have more to "deliver" than others. I am not even speaking of the need for versatility and availability; of really close connections to the masses; of the need to stick to the facts and to accuracy and the many other qualifications a local editor simply must have, if he wants to make his mark.

Sometimes it seems to me as though local editors should show more self-confidence and pride in their work. As for me, I am very proud of having worked on a local newspaper for many years.

Perhaps it is going too far to say that only those who started out on the local desk or at least worked on it for a time are real journalists.

The kernel of truth in this statement is based on the opportunities available nowhere else in such a concentrated fashion to be close to life and to gain professional experience both at the same time. These are factors that can be turned to great advantage both for our cause and our profession, if one so chooses. I have emphasized the 'if one so chooses' aspect because if one does not, the very finest opportunities will be of no avail anywhere and least of all on the local desk.

But permit me to leave this rather subjective view aside. Training local journalists, stimulating their interest and respect for the profession, providing intellectual support by the editors-in-chief and other co-workers (as was done during the elections)—all this must surely be a major part of our efforts in the future. This applies both to the teaching of journalism and to opportunities for continuing education in this field.

At present, our entire daily press lists 283 local desks in 219 Kreise. Together with our colleagues from the local radio stations, there are just under 1,000 local journalists active today.

During the period of our development which may well be called the most successful in the history of the GDR—the period since the 8th party congress which resulted in the unfolding of socialist local politics—local journalism, too, has made a great deal of progress. All the studies show it; the facts prove it; the increased interest of the readers and listeners in particular proves it as does the public reaction and the palpable influence exerted by the local pages of the newspapers and the locally targeted programs on radio and television.

Under the direction of the editors-in-chief, the media staffs put the decisions and suggestions of the party leadership—in particular of Comrade Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED central committee and chairman of the council of ministers—regarding the importance of local information and reporting into practice in a goal-oriented and successful manner. As a result of this work, the local pages and broadcasts have undergone significant change both in substance and in content.

In general terms, what can we say ?

1. Socialist communal politics has almost without exception become the central subject of local reporting. Many effective stories and actions have helped support territorial rationalization, local building activity, specific agricultural activities and participation in the 'do you share' competition.

2. The information content of the local pages and regional broadcasts has increased appreciably. Readers and listeners are getting broader and more diversified information about events in a variety of fields. In many of the cities and Kreise, it is proper to speak of the dissemination of communal political information on a continuing basis today.

3. Our socialist democracy is reflected much more strongly in the newspapers and on radio. This applies to the work of the councils and mayors and even more so to the work done by the people's assemblies and their representatives. Reporting on legal matters based on local events is also being done on a rather regular basis in most places.

4. Stories on local history and local traditions have increased in number to an extraordinary extent.

5. The number of letters to the editor, people's correspondent stories and author's contributions has increased. Many media stories are based on suggestions by readers and people's correspondents.

#### Reliable, Knowledgable Partners

These days, the local journalists are doing a far better job of informing the population both quickly and sufficiently. They have proven to be reliable helpers of the Kreis directorates and/ or regional organs of the party. As a rule, they are knowledgable and creative partners of the state authorities and regional social institutions. They themselves have benefitted from the fact that state public relations activities have been further improved on the local level. This development has received substantial support from the decisions of the party and the addresses by Comrade Erich Honecker as well as decisions by the ministerial council—all of them calling for more active public relations work at the communal political level. As is well known, a decision adopted by the council of ministers expressly instructs the local councils to inform the population more thoroughly, fully and promptly about communal political affairs and regional programs and to collaborate with the media in supporting the work of the people's assemblies and the cooperation of the citizenry.

We may also say that the activities of our own organization have had a very salutary effect on local journalism by helping this process of change and improvement along.

The things we look upon as done today—some 10 years ago when we held our second central meeting on this subject, we were at best pointing the way and holding out hopes.

The VDJ district boards have increasingly been making use of the long-term agreements reached with the district councils to promote local journalism and thereby to support the collaboration between the local state

authorities and the Kreis media. In this endeavor, the regional VDJ groups and local journalist sections have been and still are playing an important part. By disseminating information and trading experiences, they have done a fine job of developing a good partnership between journalists and state functionaries, including the legal profession.

In this connection, Eberhard Heinrich called attention to the SED party leadership's statement regarding the work done by LAUSITZER RUNDSCHAU. This statement, he said, took note of the successes recorded in the development of local journalism among other fields. "It is our constant task," the statement said in part, "to enlist the active cooperation of the population in the development of its immediate environment by providing prompt and concrete information about state and social programs and plans. The newspapers and the state authorities must see to it that the population receives prompt information concerning accidents, fires and so on in order to forestall uncertainty and speculation."

"An important aspect to be covered by the newspapers is legal propaganda as well as stories which contribute to the implementation of the socialist legal system and of law and order."

What applies to other fields applies to local journalism as well: what has been achieved is not equal to what can be achieved. And when we say 'what can be achieved,' we are not merely referring to wishful thinking but to what we should strive for and what, in fact, can be done. What is needed and what we can bring about is an even more effective communal politics commensurate with the higher goals our society has set for itself and the kind of jump in performance required to help our economy fulfill the main task. And these very objectives in turn call for ways to heighten the impact of local journalism. From the point of view of steadily rising demands, however, it is not enough simply to cite the undeniable progress local journalism has made. There still are some shortcomings, of course. In most instances, we are all familiar with these things and our membership has discussed them openly at our meetings. But the important thing was that we could point to marked improvement in all areas.

But the differences [between various news organizations] are another matter. Just as there are differences between, say, factories and regions, there are differences among the local media. They may work under the same conditions but they will be performing in very different ways both as to content and method. If one looks around a bit, one can frequently see a strong outfit existing virtually side-by-side with a weak one.

The reasons for it certainly are many. But one thing is fairly obvious: we simply do not know enough about what works in one place and what does not in another.

## Exchanging Experiences

Simple information and the somewhat more demanding process of exchanging experiences work a lot better today than they did 3 or 4 years ago—but not everywhere as yet; by no means in every regional group or section.

Aside from adopting methods that work well for others, there is of course a great number of other factors one must take advantage of.

But in addition to personal skill, the main way to improve one's own output is to compare one's own experiences with those of others in similar or comparable fields and to put them to use if they make sense. This is the road we must continue to tread, as the letter of the SED central committee signed by Comrade Erich Honecker and addressed to the 11th congress of the VDJ asked us to do. And above all, it is this main road we must tread in the field of local journalism as we approach the tasks we are facing.

It is often said that there are no sure-fire formulas for success and that is certainly true. But is it not also true that the experiences we have collected, the results we have achieved and the best and most effective activities we have engaged in are pointing the way toward the solution of the problem of how the objectives of communal politics can be supported even more strenuously? One can go down the list of topics discussed and decisions adopted at the meeting of the central committee and the council of ministers with the Kreis councils and yet again at the session of the council of state on 10 May and one will find that it is indeed so.

The final comments by Comrade Krenz at the abovementioned meeting with the council chairmen in particular contain some statements which are of paramount importance for our work. Let me quote a passage or two:

"Our policy calls for the personal commitment of each and every one of us. This is all the more reason to intensify the trustful dialogue with all citizens and to make even more sure that we are in a position to master the tasks of the future with the help of all. He who knows what we want, why we want what we want and why this is of benefit both to him and to our society as a whole will make an even stronger commitment to solving the problems that lie before us.

"Much will depend on establishing a link between basic political issues and communal programs. What we have achieved together over the past 35 years should also provide us with strength and optimism. Linking up with the achievements of the millions of people of several generations which seemed unthinkable to many at the difficult beginnings of our efforts, will help motivate us to innovative action to preserve and add to these achievements.

"To intensify trust between the state and its citizens calls on the people's assemblies to look upon themselves at all times as organs of trust and on all representatives as trustees of their voters and on the state authorities to react to the concerns of the population with a high sense of responsibility and human understanding. The idea of perfecting socialist democracy further is a major motivating force of our economic and social progress and a major condition of our political stability. It is and will continue to be the primary thrust in the development of our state authority."

Socialist democracy starts out with the committed citizen and a committed citizen is a well-informed citizen. Information and knowledge; dialogue in an atmosphere of trust; a sense of history and of government; people-related working methods on the part of officialdom—these are some of the important points for us to work on still further.

This means at any rate that our foremost task will be to improve local information still further—for that is where it all starts: with an opportunity for commitment; with well-being, credibility, an understanding of the context of things and a readiness to engage in dialogue and collaboration.

#### Provide More Information, Include Population

Gathering more and better local information takes time because the local editors do not have a news agency like ADN to gather it for them. A lot also depends on the readiness to provide information and the actual supply of information on the part of the councils, people's representatives, commissions, social organizations and institutions as well as on contacts and good relations based on mutual trust. The fact is that a great variety of relationships have emerged on the local level. In the capital in particular but also in many other cities many good contacts do exist. Our presidium committee on public relations, headed by our colleague Dr Kurt Blecha, has come out with two valuable studies concerning the various types, methods, possibilities and agreements which already exist and which, for the most part, are working well. Both of these studies may be obtained from any VDJ district chapter. In my view, these are very valuable data which can be used to advantage as part of programs to improve information.

As regards political dialogue in an atmosphere of trust, it stands and falls with the political inclusion of and the trustful relationship between the various institutions and the journalistic community. This in itself as well as the number of publications grew appreciably during the election period as was to be expected. It will now be our job to see to it that things do not regress or get lost altogether. Prior to 6 May, the political debate concentrated on presenting the candidates and their records. Both of these aspects can be taken over, almost without change, in the preparatory efforts directed toward the celebration of the 35th anniversary.

We must also retain the operational formats reflecting the relationship between the citizen and the state which emerged on the Kreis level and the regional radio stations and which provided quick answers to people's questions and help for their problems on the "Telephone Forum," the "8 O'Clock Roundtable," the "public council consultation hours" and so on.

In Cottbus, for example, 55 voter queries were submitted during the course of a 1-hour telephone forum. The staff looked through the questions and passed them on to the lord mayor. Next day, they were discussed at a council meeting and 28 of the responses were subsequently published in the "Answers from the Lord Mayor" column.

If we saw to it—particularly after the election, as the council of state has instructed us to do—that the queries, suggestions and critiques of the population are handled just as rapidly and unbureaucratically, then this would help maintain the atmosphere of trust and strengthen democratic practices and attitudes.

This also touches on the manner in which decisions are prepared, adopted, implemented and controlled; how we provide information about them and how we stimulate popular advice and action on them. More than before, it will be our job to keep track of the entire process. In the Potsdam district, the local newspapers publicly laid the groundwork for Kreis assembly meetings on issues of local policy such as commerce, the environment and community-industry relations by means of reader debates, roundtable discussions and polls. The local page of VOLKSSTIMME, for instance, carried suggestions on national cultural life and a draft for a new municipal ordinance. In Karl Marx Stadt, public debate in the pages of the local newspaper prior to decisions of the city council about educational questions elicited great response. In Gera and Zwickau, too, the city council meeting was previewed on the local events page. The Schwedt city council and the local newspaper are working out a media plan in advance of the council meeting so as to provide adequate information on topics to be discussed; on the work of the standing committees and that of the representatives at the factories and in the residential areas. The entire chain of events which affects the population from its inception to its implementation must be made transparent. That is the most convincing and most effective type of communal politics. It must be approached from a new journalistic point of view in every instance.

Throughout the recent past and looking ahead to the anniversary, we have of course been extremely busy. Without going into great detail, I might just mention that a number of Berlin local editors as well as those in other districts are relying on pictures to a greater extent again—which we feel is a good idea. The fact is, after all, that the written word's ability to convince diminishes in direct proportion to the time elapsed since the original event whereas a picture will always be able to communicate new aspects of said event.

As for financial affairs, we have made a good deal of progress journalistically speaking. Many of us have learned to deal with figures better and quite a lot has been done to make these figures take on life for the benefit of our readers, listeners and viewers. They have become easier to grasp and understand because they are based on the experiences and real life situations encountered by the individual family and the work collective and have become an integral part of the region and the factory. And when the people themselves get to speak their piece on financial matters, we can see there is another advantage to it. At this point, the achievements people are proud of connect up in a very convincing and emotional way with the fundamental political question of our time: what we have created shall not be destroyed. In the village and in every community, the balance sheet can thus be used as a mobilizing factor for the preservation of peace and the strengthening of our state as a firm base in the struggle for peace. That, too, is worth thinking about in our future work. The balance sheet which lists things and human beings is a "hardy perennial" from the journalist's point of view. That is why we are so earnestly suggesting that experiences and insights gathered in our work with financial matters be discussed and shared.

In the field of local history and traditions, many of our colleagues have by now come up with a lot of experience. It goes without saying that most of the local history stories deal with the more recent past or in other words with events and physical objects reflecting the 35-year history of the GDR. Even people living in small communities should be getting the kind of feeling Mayakovski once described when they read stories about their local history: "This is where my own efforts flow into the larger efforts of my republic."

#### Local Journalism and Higher Performance

For the purpose of staying the course of the main task higher performance is required. To this end, the local state authorities are called upon to optimize the territorial reproduction conditions and to make effective use of local resources in order to implement the economic strategy of the 10th party congress. Past the factory gates and city limits, it is our job to make full use of the benefits of socialist cooperative endeavor; thereby to effect a marked improvement in cost effectiveness and to make a measurable contribution to a rise in the gross national product. These tasks, which are of increasing economic and social importance, include the great responsibility of the local councils to provide for faster growth in the production of consumer goods.

Along with this, all changes in the working life of our labor force must be organized with great care and at all times jointly with the workers, in an atmosphere of trust. If the Kreis councils wish to win more workers over to shift work, they will have to assign priority to the solution of the questions regarding working and living conditions which are connected with such a move. To resolve these and other economic issues, intensified

cooperation between local state authorities and the factories and institutions will be indispensable for success. That is what was said at the meeting with the council chairmen; and the local editorial staffs must bear their share of this responsibility.

There are some who ask how one can keep the stories about increased output from becoming too "economic" and of too little local interest and what can be done instead.

Some of the districts have come up with the following ideas—all of them posing a challenge to cooperative effort.

First of all, there must be collaboration between the chief editors and the local desk. Many of our colleagues feel that those in charge must provide more intellectual and practical assistance on this score.

Secondly, there needs to be cooperation between local editors, factory newspaper editors and, if available, the public relations staff of the factories and/or combines. The regional VDJ group might well act as co-ordinator for these cooperative efforts and offer assistance in problem solving.

The third type of cooperation would be between the local editors and the council, the people's assembly, the factories, the people's correspondents and writers. Such collaborative efforts are already in existence—in the opposite direction. In the municipal district of Berlin-Treptow, for example, the "From Our District" column has regularly appeared in seven factory newspapers. This column deals in some detail with the decisions of the district assembly and the public meetings of the council. In addition to Berlin, it has been found useful in Magdeburg and in the Cottbus district, too, to invite factory newspaper editors to council press conferences and to inform them on community policy issues.

Let me call your attention to a few more examples which indicate ways of solving this problem.

The local staffs of BERLINER ZEITUNG and BZ AM ABEND are doing a fine job of helping fulfill the plan in the house repair work sector—which is a matter of economic policy and of local interest. BZ headlined a story comparing the work of three municipal housing administrations (KWF) as follows: "What About the Housing Repair Plan So Far ?" The report investigated and analyzed the working methods of the KWF as well as the co-ordination of the construction work as such. These are some of questions the article raised: what are the various subheadings which help the workmen to make out a balance sheet ? What share of the total is being supplied by the craftsmen ? How do the KWF, the craftsmen and the residents get along together ? How do complex and specialized brigades fit into the projects ? How many housing experts do the KWF have and how well do they work ? Are there any incentives for doing a good job ?

All the municipal districts were then asked to comment and the responses of six more districts were published. In the interest of their readers the two newspapers are looking into ways of improving the service sector. For this reason, both the popular NEUES DEUTSCHLAND column on "Efficient Berliners Who Serve All of Us" and the BERLINER ZEITUNG series on outstanding workers are particularly effective—because they were started at the suggestion and with the assistance of the readers themselves.

Local political leaders and local editors both feel it is desirable to carry out local political activities in conjunction with the local newspapers on a more public and more regular basis, since these have always resulted in greater citizen participation and much success. I might mention the "Together, things work better," a series on optimizing the transportation system in Hainichen county and "Competition Rendezvous" in Floeha county—activities which took place during the past 2 years.

On its Gransee county page, MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME has regularly been running a story every 2 weeks comparing the output in the two communities. FREIE PRESSE has also focused on popularizing such material so as to help generalize on useful experiences.

Since 1984, there has been a joint project involving all the Halle media in the 35th year of the GDR with the aim of generalizing comparative output in the housing sector, in secondary raw materials, in "work with us" achievements and in the beautification of residential environments. The Halle studio of Radio GDR is also taking part in this project.

The Jena county office of VOLKSWACHT tells us of its experiences in mobilizing territorial resources to help raise output. The stories run by the newspaper are the result of regular planning sessions with the county council. This includes a weekly VOLKSWACHT interview with members of the council in which they elaborate on their programs or give an accounting of results. A number of projects have already been implemented: "Fighting for Every Inch" to make maximum use of the soil and "What Is Thrown Away Is Not Useless" to tell people to collect secondary raw materials; particularly household plastics.

An advisory group composed of knowledgeable citizens was formed to carry each of these projects through.

These programs and others—ranging from Radio Rostock's interviews with the lord mayor of the city to the Oderland trip by the Seelow local editors and the on-the-spot investigation in Gotha—have all proven worthwhile and worth building on to help local journalism promote the goals of local policies in a way that speaks to the masses or, as we often say nowadays, that appeals to the reader. In our roundtable discussions here at the conference, the question came up several times what that really means. I think it is just a synonym for the kind of mass impact we must aim to

achieve both in terms of content and journalistic know-how. This includes topicality and the right "peg;" variety, intelligibility and brevity. Reader appeal can only be achieved by being close to the reader, listener and viewer.

The outstanding VDJ solidarity activities which are organized each year by the newspapers in the county and district cities are a fine example of this. They are particularly effective in several ways in that they provide a close link between social and personal interests. By carrying interesting news items on these events; by organizing partnerships and solidarity bazaars as well as other public events, the newspapers turn this into a major social event each year. All this is made possible by the many ideas and the great personal commitment of the members of our association.

To be sure, the central board has expressed its gratitude to all our members time and again; but I would like to express mine once again on this occasion particularly to the local journalists who work in the press and the media. You have made a significant contribution to the expansion of this program and its increasing success with every passing year. We are convinced that our colleagues from the local media will see to it once again that this year's program, which will be taking place on the evening preceding the 35th anniversary, will be worthy of that joyous occasion.

#### VDJ Objectives

In conclusion, let me say that the VDJ as a whole has a number of problems to solve to help improve the quality and mass impact of local journalism.

We have noted, first of all, that local journalism has become an important part of our socialist journalism and that it is making an increasing contribution to firming up the relationship of trust between the party and the people; between the citizen and the state. The most important task we have now, in the aftermath of the community elections, will be the continued preparations for the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the GDR.

It is the job of the VDJ to lend support to its members working for the local media in every way possible and to help them provide better information and achieve better quality and mass impact. We want to do our part in strengthening their authority both in the journalistic community and in society as a whole in keeping with their role in it and their achievements.

Secondly, we noted that much new expertise has been gained which we must exchange and generalize. This applies in particular to substantial progress in describing our successful balance.

It will be the job of the VDJ to institute a creative exchange of views on the political and journalistic possibilities of presenting a balance sheet of our achievements in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the GDR. It is suggested to the regional groups and the corresponding sections that they should now implement the proposal adopted by the 4th session of the central board and discuss effective ways of journalistically presenting that balance sheet to the public and at the same time analyze the experiences gained in the communal elections at a meeting of the membership or other appropriate gatherings.

The district boards are asked to join with the chief editors in preparing and implementing these meetings at the regional, section and VDJ group level.

Thirdly, we noted that effective reporting on community politics is particularly successful in those instances where a comradely, close relationship exists between the journalists and the people's representatives, the council officials, the mayors and the heads of the plants located in the area. It has been proven that the VDJ can make a substantial contribution to stimulating and coordinating this cooperation and to turn it to immediate advantage for local journalism. Agreements between the VDJ district boards and other VDJ offices and the state and social institutions are of particular importance in this connection in order to assure a continuing exchange of views and information with these partners. It is the job of the VDJ to act—even more so than in the past—as the organizer of such partnerships.

Let me propose the following:

The central board and the state and justice/local politics committee of the presidium as well as the public affairs committee should continue their intensive work on the experiences gained from local journalism and look into the possibilities for the further expansion of the cooperation with the organizations and central institutions which may be of particular use to local journalists.

The district boards, regional groups and sections are requested to conduct regular joint meetings on selected topics of socialist community politics with state functionaries and people's representatives and to assign priority to discussions on how to deal with these issues from a journalistic point of view.

Fourthly, we have noted that greater effectiveness of local journalism will result in the presentation of community politics within the context of the further development of socialist democracy and the fulfillment of the main task comprising both economic and social policy and in the stimulation of further progress. This calls for greater cooperation between local journalists, economic writers and factory newspaper editors.

It is the job of the VDJ to see to it that a constructive exchange of views and information takes place among the journalists at the main editorial offices, the local editors and the news staffs at the plants.

With the assistance of the regional groups and sections, we should be establishing close working relationships between the factory newspaper editors and those responsible for internal and community politics so as to improve the quality of journalistic work at the community level.

My fifth point is that it is a matter of course that high-quality local journalism calls for further efforts in the direction of the political and professional training for our colleagues. Professional know-how and complete familiarity with the craft of journalism and all the potentialities of socialist journalism are predicated on continued training, regular exchange of views and improved information.

It is therefore the specific responsibility of the VDJ to render effective help in the continuing education of local journalists. Now this is what we propose:

In collaboration with the training and continuing education committee of the presidium, the secretariat and the central board will look for ways to improve further and expand both central and district continuing education programs for local journalists, including training courses, seminars and information exchanges.

At the school of journalism, regular colloquia on specific aspects of local journalism and the solution of problems will be held.

The district boards are requested to conduct tours to major community projects and to hold meetings with experts in collaboration with the appropriate partners; to help propagate the findings of the journalism section within the framework of the continuing education program and to organize and evaluate comparative performance among different local newspapers on the basis of the regional groups.

The secretariat of the central board will meet at least once a year with one of the regional and/or individual newspaper chapters to exchange information on selected topics.

My sixth point is that the VDJ regional chapters have proven their value as home bases for local journalists and all other members of the association in any given area. It is the job of the VDJ to strengthen these regional chapters still further and to assist them in improving their activities.

The district boards are asked to develop organizational models and work patterns conforming to local conditions which do full justice to this

task; to make their influence felt on the development of work schedules and chapter activities so as to have more "workshop discussions" take place and to organize collaboration among partners. The central boards are also asked to look into the work of the regional chapters and its impact on local journalism once a year. It is important to see to it that we have viable regional chapters operating in all locations.

The heads of the regional chapters are asked to make use of the evaluation of this conference in the further improvement of the preparatory work for the 35th anniversary of the GDR.

In our world; in the building of the new world the most interesting things are taking place. Our readers, listeners and viewers have a right to have the interesting truth of socialism presented to them in an interesting manner.

And that—very simply speaking—is our job. That is what we are called upon to do. It is a challenge constantly faced by ourselves, our intellect and our know-how.

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MILITARY SERVICE FOR STUDENTS ACCEPTED TO UNIVERSITY

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Aug 84 p 5

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Sandor Farkas, department head at the Ministry of Defense, by K.B.: "Military Service for Those Already Accepted to the University"]

[Text] The almost 20-year-old practice of military service for those already accepted to the university was changed last year. The essence of the modifications is that in the 12 months prior to their studies those already accepted will perform their military service together with the other enlisted soldiers rather than in separate sub-units as before. We asked Lieutenant Colonel Sandor Farkas, department head at the Ministry of Defense, about the reasons and justifications for the changes.

[Question] Why did it become necessary to change the service system of "the ones already accepted"?

[Answer] Until 1981 students accepted to the university served separate from the other enlisted soldiers in units of the people's armed forces designated for this purpose--basically in posts between the Danube and Tisza rivers--in a draft and training system different from the general. This separation made sense at the time because their service of 11 months did not fit into the 24-month service time and the rotation and training schedule. The change became necessary partly because their separation caused a tense situation among the other soldiers, and partly their higher level of general education and future training for leadership as well required them to be assigned to companies with the highest technical facilities. Changing the system was made possible by introducing the 18-month service time, since now the 12-month service time of those already accepted can fit into the three-times-six-months training system. They report at the same time as the other soldiers, are discharged before their studies begin, and their abilities can earn better interest in accordance with the interests of the armed forces in learning to use and operate the more modern battle technology equipment.

## Consultation Can Be Solved

[Question] How could you summarize the essence and goal of the new service system for pre-enrolled students?

[Answer] The essence of the new service system for pre-enrolled students is that they discharge their military obligation together with the other soldiers rather than in separate subcompanies, in definite assignments. They are trained at the companies equipped with the most modern technology, their rights and obligations, and service circumstances are identical with those of the other soldiers. The basic goal of military service before beginning their studies is that they receive military training which creates the proper foundation for their later training for command in the reserves. This is why conditions had to be created so that we can continue helping them maintain the level of their knowledge, acquire new knowledge and develop their public behavior in the interest of their studies. In this system consultation takes place in free time every 2 months--more frequently for those with foreign scholarships--in a better organized manner, organized by the Ministry of Education and according to separate topic areas. Learning foreign languages is made possible in free time. The company libraries are further enriched with trade literature and university notes. But all this is only the objective side, the preenrolled students must also make efforts in their own interest to implement the things mentioned here.

[Question] Can consultation of the "scattered" pre-enrolled students be solved, and what is the army doing in the interest of this?

[Answer] The new service system includes also that the future students of higher educational institutions perform service in significantly more companies (local garrisons) than before. Bimonthly consultation can be solved. The Ministry of Education will designate base institutions for the individual companies the task of which will be to maintain contact, organize and conduct the consultations. For this the Ministry of Defense will in time make available to them the list of those companies and garrisons where the pre-enrolled are performing service. The base institutions will coordinate consultation time with the companies. It can happen as a consequence of the characteristics of military life, the battle readiness and taking care of the defense patrol tasks that not every affected young man will be able to participate in certain consultations. But with their fellow students relaying it, they will be able to familiarize themselves with the consultation's material.

## Computer in the Army

[Question] Will the university students of the future be also able to practice on computers in the armed forces?

[Answer] With the implementation of the computing technology central development program as well as a result of computing technology based on microelectronics rapidly gaining popularity, the conditions have also

developed in this country and the need has been generated for its becoming wide spread on society's scale. Recognizing this, the Hungarian People's Armed Forces has also joined the activities of the Neumann Janos Computing Technology Society and a chapter of it has also been formed in the military. The equipment provided for the armed forces provide the opportunity that the young soldiers interested in computing technology--not exclusively, but primarily those who have won pre-enrollment at the university--can on the one hand spend their free time rewardingly during their military service, and on the other hand by arousing their interest they can acquire the appropriate information about application possibilities for computers. In the interest of this special study groups will be formed at designated companies and furnishing these with computers will be completed by the end of 1984. Young men signing up in the special study groups will be able to learn the basics of computing technology in both the hardware and software areas.

There Is No Favoritism

[Question] Will service for medical students continue to be different?

[Answer] Medical (physician, veterinarian, pharmacist) students will continue to fulfill their military obligation for 12 months after completion of their studies. Of this service 3 months is basic training and 9 months actual work, spent primarily with the companies and health care institutions. In the interest of easing the problems which exist in the medical and veterinary service of smaller settlements the Minister of Defense has agreed that on the basis of proposals to be made by the portfolios of health care, as well as agriculture and the food industry a few doctors can fulfill their 9-month practice obligation as soldiers in the areas of civil health care.

[Question] Do the reporting pre-enrolled students have the opportunity to select their service location?

[Answer] We can not make it possible to select the service location (formation, garrison). The pre-enrolled students must perform their 12-month service at those units where the future students of that university department are serving. This is also in their own interest. Some parents and relatives will surely approach us in the interest of locating their son or family member closer to their place of residence. We can not honor these requests because by doing so we would be violating the uniform system which has developed.

8584  
CSO: 2500/547a

QUALIFICATIONS FOR STATE SPONSORED STUDY ABROAD

Budapest TERVGAZDASAGI ERTESTITO in Hungarian No 4, 18 Jul 84 pp 37, 38

[Science Policy Committee Directive for National Stipendium Council on Judging Candidates for Foreign Study]

[Text] In order to aid the execution of the Council of Ministers' resolution No 2031/1982 (XI 26) titled "On the Responsibilities and Organization of the National Stipendium Council" and of the decree of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs No 1/1983 (L 17) titled "On Trips Abroad for Cultural, Scientific, Technical-Scientific or Pedagogic Purposes," the Science Policy Committee issues the following directives, in accordance with which the National Stipendium Council (subsequently: OOT) is to evaluate scholarship applications within its jurisdiction.

I. Method of Evaluation

1. The guide issued annually by the OOT contains all of the interstate and inter-governmental pronouncements, and all agreements substituting the above, as well as opportunities for study abroad based on other scholarship arrangements assigned to the jurisdiction of the OOT, which may be won through open competition.
2. Every Hungarian citizen who meets the requirements indicated in the guide may apply for the opportunities to study abroad. After preliminary evaluation by the competent ministries (organs of national jurisdiction), the applications, with the opinions of employers, should be submitted to the Secretariat of the OOT by the deadline indicated in the guide. The sense of advisory responsibility should be manifest in the employers' opinion, and only those applications which have a realistic chance of winning a scholarship should reach the OOT.
3. The professionally and scientifically competent committees should attach their corporate opinions to the applications and arrange them in rank order. If the evaluation requires special expertise, the president of the committee should involve consultants who have such expertise.

4. During the process of evaluation and ranking, the committees should examine the topic of the application, the suitability of the applicant to carry out the proposed task, as well as the applicant's meeting of the requirements outlined in Part II of these directives. They should consider the domestic applicability of the knowledge to be gained abroad, and the achievements which may be derived from it.
5. When determining the importance of the topics, the committees should keep in mind those research and development priorities which are presently valid or which are being established.
6. Scholarship opportunities abroad should simultaneously strengthen the support for basic research work and for research in the service of technological development. The required accord between the sciences and social practice should be manifest in the process of evaluating the topics.
7. The committees should take into consideration those remarks coming from the ministries and research institutions attached to the applications, which express their views on the training and replacement of leaders. It must be guaranteed that suitable younger experts can apply with equal chances.
8. Contracts and agreements for cooperation between Hungarian researchers or research collectives and their foreign counterparts, aiming at the completion of joint research results, should be treated in a preferential manner.
9. The committees should classify the applications by special ties, rank them within each specialty in accordance with their proposed work schedule, and attach written opinions to them, providing, if called for, a justification for the ranking.
10. After consulting with the presidents of the committees and with members of the OOT nominated by the represented ministries, and in accordance with the relationships between the various scientific branches determined by the plenary meeting of the OOT, the Secretariat should forward the applications, together with its formulated comments, to the meeting of the OOT for decision.

## II. Requirements for Applicants

1. From every point of view, the applicants must be suitable to be the worthy representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic abroad.
2. In the persons of the applicants, it must be ascertained that they meet the requirements set down in the international contracts and published in the OOT's guide, as well as the requirements concerning their preparation and their scientific activities.

3. The committees should examine whether the applicants have obtained the knowledge relevant to their narrow area of specialization, which is available in Hungary or in the other socialist countries.
4. It is necessary to determine whether the applicants are capable of independent research, as proven by publications and other activities within their specialties.
5. Foreign study trips can only be fruitful if the applicant has the language skills required in the receiving country. The committees should determine whether, depending upon the topic, they consider a mid or high-level language test, or an equivalent langauge familiarity, as a requirement.
6. Throughout the process of evaluation, the social, economic and scientific importance of the topics to be studied, and the suitability of the applicants for the achievement of further scientific and practical results, should be given special consideration.

12588  
CSO: 2500/555

POLAND

STEEL WORKERS QUERY RAKOWSKI ON NATIONAL ISSUES

Warsaw TAK I NIE in Polish No 28, 13 Jul 84 pp 4,5

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by metallurgical unionists, prepared by Jan Dziadul on the basis of a tape recording; date and location of interview not given]

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was in a holiday mood, his style unusually free (but perhaps that is a characteristic of this government?), but the subject matter weighty! Metallurgical unionists prepared the questions and asked them from the floor.

[Question] With regard to elections, what about those that did not vote?

[Answer] To be succinct, nothing will happen to them. We must act and implement our policy so that some of them take part in the next elections. There is no other avenue! The era of 99.99 percent is ended, never to return (there never was 100 percent, because some got lost along the way). There were no so-called agitators in these elections nervously scrutinizing the lists as afternoon approached and going from house to house to get people to visit the polls through friendly persuasion. I venture to say that 75 percent today is worth more than 99 percent in the past! Nor is there any question of "black lists." It is not a serious accusation. Poland has undergone an incredible shock. The authorities wish to regain credibility and they must do so, they wish to show, I think, that we are performing our service role to society as effectively as possible.

[Question] With regard to elections, are the authorities happy with the results?

[Answer] Yes, we are. Of course, it would have been better if 80 percent had voted, but this result is also a telling confirmation of the rightness of the policy we have implemented since 13 December. The government is operating before an open curtain; it is really talking to people. These are truly new methods of exercising authority. Let me give you just one example: when, in the entire postwar history of Poland, did the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs make regular reports to the Sejm, and thereby to the entire society? When was information provided openly regarding disturbances and the number of injured militiamen and participants? The emergence of the security ministry

"from the shadows" is truly a new style. I believe that the election results and the very strong campaign for the 40th anniversary of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] will bring about a further easing of tensions. The idea of understanding has gained new trump cards; it has become stronger. Thanks to this, the number of those that stand on the sidelines certainly will decline. We must expect, however, that the forces inimical to socialism will not sit idle. The feeling of disillusionment among those that expected the downfall of socialism to take place in Poland, that thought that the decline of the influence of socialism in Eastern Europe would start in Poland, is so strong and their disenchantment is so tremendous that it is difficult to imagine that they would become reconciled so readily to defeat and begin to assess our reality realistically.

[Question] What do you have to say about private initiative?

[Answer] Again one hears the demagogues say that if we "snuffed out" private initiative, things would be better in Poland. There is no more mistaken view. The GDR has 417,000 tradesmen, or the same number as we, with half our population. Privately owned vehicles transport 20 percent of the cargoes via the highways. No one there says that they should be eliminated. However, the GDR has had a stable private sector policy for 35 years. The private sector is needed, and it will not mean the collapse of socialism. Meanwhile, in Poland, once we want the tradesmen, and another time we do not want them. Once we "snuff them out," and another time we give them the green light. The result is that, when someone invests in a business, he wants an immediate return, for he does not know whether Minister Nieckarz will have some new surprises in store for him in 2 or 3 years.

[Question] What do you have to say about consultations?

[Answer] This is not the first time that I have encountered the charge of failure to consult with trade unions. I even agree with the charge. However, I already have said that we should set up a government-trade union commission and establish the areas of future consultation. Do not understand this to mean that we wish to saddle you with the responsibility for governmental decisions. We do not. However, while I see the need for consultation, I am not quite sure how this should operate in practice. You say that we do not consult you, but are we to consult you on all government decisions, or only on some? The rules of the game must be established. Take the most recent example of price hikes: Minister Krasinski continually reiterated that he consulted with you, and again you say that these were not consultations, but only reports.

[Question] What do you have to say on partnership?

[Answer] Do you think that the central state apparatus does not find the trade unions to be a worthy partner? Such is not at all the intention of the party and state leadership. This is not to say, however, that in many cases real partnership is lacking. Unfortunately, it cannot be put into practice overnight. Various circumstances are necessary for this. For example, the modern nature of the state requires very rapid decisionmaking. Moreover, it

is difficult to change the mentality of the leadership cadre. Interestingly, the people are replaced, but the mentality often stays the same! To be sure, the experiences of 1981 are still strongly felt. Many people in the apparatus of authority treat each manifestation of the right control as something bad, even as the work of the opposition. This does not mean, however, that someone is trying to ignore the unions. Such an attitude would open the way to the buildup of causes leading to a new crisis.

[Question] What do you have to say on the development of unions?

[Answer] I admit that at the time the law on trade unions was passed, I viewed the development of union organizations quite pessimistically. While I still am not optimistic, my pessimism has subsided. It already has been said here that the unions number 4.5 million members, although there are still zones where union development is proceeding with great difficulty. There is still strong resistance preventing workers from joining the new movement. There are many causes, and some are even understandable. Perhaps the frame of mind would be better if union ranks increased more rapidly, but even so, as I have noted, there is nothing to complain about. In any event, the growth of unions means a greater impact on economic life. It likewise means the strengthening of Poland's position in Europe and worldwide. Such is the international situation. A great deal depends on you, upon your numbers and activism.

[Question] What do you have to say on the military in civilian life?

[Answer] Are you saying that the generals deserve praise for what they have done, but now it is time for them to return to the barracks? I do not wish to speak here of the historical role of the army that saved Poland in December 1981 from the barricades, the cemeteries and the destruction of state structures. I would like to say, however, that one cannot look upon our army in the same way that one views bourgeois armies. We have no closed officers' castes. A large contingent of our soldiers has circulated throughout the civilian economy for a long time. No one need be reminded of this. Thus, officers know civilian life. That is why I believe that we must apply the same criteria to them that we use for civilians. If the individual is good, let him stay. If he does not work out, he must leave his post. In Katowice, the provincial governor is General Paszkowski. He is good, efficient and is known for his unconventional contacts with people. In Gdansk, General Cygan is an outstanding provincial governor. Moreover, they would be good managers either in or out of uniform. Only people and their competence should count!

[Question] What do you have to say about the former first secretary of the KC [Central Committee]?

[Answer] I agree that, to a great extent, public feeling governed the attitude to Gierek in 1981. Those responsible for the existing status quo were sought out. He personified the decade; thus, almost everything focused on him. Today, many people hate Urban only because they need to vent their hate against someone! In October 1980, I proposed in POLITYKA that a commission be appointed to study all the pluses and minuses of the Gierek government. At the time, I cried out into the desert. I also gave my approval to Gierek's

policy aimed at modernizing the country, essentially the party policy. If it is still being said today that he alone bears the burden of the crisis, then one should ask immediately: then who was it that reaped the benefits of Gierek's consumption? Was it he alone? On the other hand, we cannot hide the fact that the vitiation of authority during that period was enormous, in some cases leading to outright degeneracy in its operation. It is conceivable that the assessment of Gierek's policy will change. Time has its effect in cooling passions. The best example here is Gomulka. At every point, in every situation, we ought to know how to separate the good from the bad.

8536

CSO: 2600/1173

POLAND

SZLACHCIC ANALYZES 'MISTAKES' OF GIEREK PERIOD

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 33, 12 Aug 84 pp 16,17

[Interview with General Franciszek Szlachcic by Jacek Kluczkowski; date and location of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] For many years you held responsible posts and you were part of the political leadership of the country. In 1972-1973, you actually were "number two" after the KC [Central Committee] first secretary. What assessment do you make today of your role in political life?

[Answer] You say that I was "second." While that is what people claim, I did not have that feeling, and I am not sure that it was so. Since the time of my acceptance into the party in 1943, I always have tried to be a communist and to serve the country well. This was my underlying conviction as I took part in preparing the program for the country's development in the 1970's and in implementing this program. When it began to diverge from the right path, I gave a warning. When this did not help, I left. Since that time I have been working in an institution where my work is a source of satisfaction to me. I have the feeling that my work has a purpose. You may ask my co-workers of their opinion of me.

[Question] Since the topic of our conversation is the 1970's, our point of departure ought to be the question: was the 1970 crisis inevitable?

[Answer] The causes of that crisis are well known; they have been expressed and published many times. Was it inevitable? My personal belief is that without changes in the leadership structure of the time, it could not be averted. On the other hand, the place, the form and the date were contingent upon various circumstances, upon chance. In my estimation, these issues were expressed accurately in the report of the PZPR KC commission led by Hieronim Kubiak. In general terms we may state that, at the end of the 1960's, the conflict between the level of development of society, its needs and expectations and the methods of running the state and the economy, as well as the degree to which needs were met, became more intense. A major issue of the time was that of the younger generation that lost hope and became frustrated.

[Question] You were then the deputy minister of internal affairs. Was the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] aware of the mood of society?

[Answer] Yes, it was aware, and it conscientiously informed all members of the party and government leadership of the time. The MSW leadership wanted all members of the country's leadership to realize the danger.

[Question] As you have indicated, much already has been said about the tragic events of December 1970. The social conflict, however, did not end in December with the changes made in the highest party and state positions.

[Answer] Yes, in the second half of January 1971, the tension mounted once again and strikes erupted. The most dangerous one occurred at the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin. Danger once again became prevalent throughout Poland.

[Question] There was, however, no use of force at that time.

[Answer] Various ways of defusing tensions in the shipyard were tried, and views of the need to use force arose once again. At the time I was a close friend of Edward Gierek. We were concerned over the situation and decided to go to the shipyard and talk directly to the strikers. We flew to Szczecin together with some other comrades. I went directly from the airport to the shipyard for talks. After a time, Edward Gierek arrived, along with other members of the leadership. We spoke with the shipyard workers until late that night and the sit-down strike was called off. From Szczecin, we went directly to Gdansk, where we assured "we will help" openly.

[Question] Was not the fact that you yielded so readily to strikers' demands an easy search for popularity? In my opinion, the rollback of price increases prevented a rational price policy for many years. This then engendered subsequent conflicts.

[Answer] No, it was not a casually made decision, and we did not yield in Szczecin and Gdansk. We only yielded later, during the Lodz strikes. We were told already then that this was a mistake. Only those that did not take part in the tense talks with working people could say such a thing. I still believe today that this concession was necessary.

[Question] The first sign of the carelessness of the new leadership in reckoning with the obligations assumed by them was the failure to publish the report of the so-called Szydlak Commission regarding the causes and the development of the social conflict. Why was this decision made?

[Answer] While at the time I also believed that the document should not be made public, I now think that this was a mistake. We made many mistakes then. They include the selective treatment of responsibility for the December events. Another mistake was excluding Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka from taking part in the Eighth KC Plenum for settling accounts, held in February 1971. Much could have been straightened out then, and we could have averted subsequent deformations.

[Question] The Eighth KC Plenum sketched out the guidelines of a new program for the country's development in the 1970's. Who authored this program?

[Answer] The concept of the so-called post-December policy came into being before December, during the discussions and conversations of the more enlightened party members and independents. It was actually stated as a program proposal after the changes made in the position of the KC first secretary and the other members of the former leadership.

[Question] Why was it not possible simply to implement the assumptions adopted during the previous period? For example, the system of material incentives prepared by Boleslaw Jaszczuk was available. This system surely would have helped to increase production.

[Answer] According to my knowledge, Boleslaw Jaszczuk was merely the executor of this idea that, while perhaps theoretically valid, was difficult to implement. It is difficult to say anything, since the idea was not tested. It was one of the partial attempts to restructure the mode of production to make it more intensive. Such attempts recurred throughout the entire 1960's and continued through the early 1970's.

[Question] What was the major thrust of the post-December policy?

[Answer] It was to be the critical and creative continuation of the general line directed towards building socialism. The guiding force of this policy was to be the memory of the December tragedy that was "nevermore" to occur. In the end that "never" last barely 3 years. The major directions of this policy were to be the increase in the living standard through increased productivity and efficiency, the development of science, technological progress, the reform of the economic mechanism and the steering of the economy and the democratization of responsibility for the country and its development. Poland was to be involved more profitably in the international division of labor; modernization was to take place. The most important issue was the creation of opportunity for young people and the harnessing of the energies of the younger generation, the generation of the population explosion. As it was put so glibly at the time, we wished to participate in the scientific-technological revolution. This was to be the generational experience of the generation.

[Question] One senses bitter disappointment in your words. But many things were implemented successfully. Industry was revamped technically to a considerable degree, several million new employment slots were created and the many investments that were implemented at that time serve the national economy well. Was there perhaps the desire to achieve too much too fast?

[Answer] I am pleased to hear you, a representative of the younger generation, speak in this way. A great deal really was accomplished, but more could have been done, and it could have been done better. There were opportunities. I am convinced that we could have averted the crisis-producing tendencies and the crisis of the 1980's.

[Question] Are the causes of the failure of the policy of "dynamic development" sometimes to be found in the weakness of the economic scientific-research base? More than once during those years you proposed that the achievements of science impact more significantly on industrial development, but it seems that this proposal was not implemented.

[Answer] During the first period of the 1970's, we wished to hark back to the positive experiences of the years 1945-1948, when the share of the intelligentsia, particularly the technical intelligentsia, was especially great, despite the fact that this was the so-called pre-war intelligentsia. I think that we were somewhat successful in this. We increased international contacts and Polish engineering was revitalized. Without science, technology and the scientific and technical intelligentsia, the mode of production cannot be rebuilt. Without the active participation of science and technology, there will be no growth and development. Science has become a production force, generating national income. If we imagine the economy to be a train riding along the tracks, then technology is the locomotive and science is the fuel. I know that it is very difficult to direct science and technology, for in 1972-1973, I myself was involved in this within the framework of the distribution of powers within the Politburo and the KC Secretariat.

[Question] Is the fact that Polish science and technology are difficult to direct the reason that we began to import technological knowhow from the West on such a large scale during the 1970's?

[Answer] You have not understood me properly. When I spoke of difficulties, I had in mind primarily the lack of party and state experience in directing the development of science and technological progress. Increasing import was not a way of fleeing from these problems. Import on license, while extensive, was not significant particularly by comparison with other countries. The mistake lay in the fact that purchases were made without extensive analysis, sometimes contrary to stated opinions. It also should be known that from 1981-1983, we barely purchased a single license, but there still seems to be no increase in native technological knowhow.

[Question] This brings us to foreign policy issues. International activism, our own "window on the world," was a characteristic feature of the 1970's.

[Answer] The foreign policy of those years simply continued past policy. We had an appropriate foreign policy in the 1950's, in the 1960's and in the 1970's. The successive ministers of foreign affairs implemented this policy properly. There is no need to explain that the post-December concepts of growth and development could be implemented only under terms of peace, cooperation and detente. This coincided with the active peace policy of the USSR; no one denies the fact that we worked actively towards detente and peace.

[Question] In their memoirs from those years, American politicians do not hide the fact that they hoped to overthrow socialism by broadening political, economic and cultural contacts between the socialist world and the West. According to my information, in May 1972, you had a lengthy conversation with Kissinger. Was this danger already perceptible at that time?

[Answer] No one from our leadership harbored any illusions about the goals of the policy Henry Kissinger was implementing. However, we preferred his methods to those of other U.S. politicians. He spoke at that time in favor of detente and stability. He accompanied President Nixon to Warsaw from Moscow. He was a realist, and that provided a good plane for talks.

[Question] What was the subject of these talks?

[Answer] President Nixon and Kissinger were told that Poland was, is and will be a permanent element of the socialist system, that attempts to lure us away would be of no avail. On the other hand, Poland, as the largest socialist country in Europe after the Soviet Union, can and will cooperate towards co-existence and detente. We had a very long conversation with Kissinger. I recall that when he made reference to Bismarck's statement "that politics is the art of possibility," I told him what the Poles thought of Bismarck. I do not think he believed me.

[Question] Some people writing today of the past decade consider that it was more than contacts with the West that were bad. They also believe that at that time, proletarian traditions also were cast aside. They call the 1970's "socialism in full dress."

[Answer] I have heard that socialism in a rough coat was built during the 1970's. But these are only words. Neither the rough coat nor full dress suits us communists.

[Question] Were there differences among the members of the post-December leadership concerning the program of the country's development and its implementation?

[Answer] There were certainly no basic differences. The first doubts were engendered during the time of the First National Party Conference. They concerned the push for investments. At the end of 1973/beginning of 1974, differences of opinion arose, and conflicts emerged during mid-1974. I had reservations about excessive indebtedness, large-scale investments, the methods of leadership and political amnesia. It was then that I left the party leadership.

[Question] What do you mean by political amnesia?

[Answer] I mean forgetting goals, principles and duties. It is the property of historical processes that execution differs from intentions. Marx called this the irony of history. These are matters about which those leading the state and the economy may never forget.

[Question] It is said that after you left the leadership, some other members of the Politburo often noted the dangers.

[Answer] Yes, I have heard as much (...)

[Question] What is your assessment of the way that Edward Gierek led the country and the party? As you have said in this interview, you were his friend.

[Answer] This assessment was made by the party, whose member he was for many years, and whose first secretary he was for several years. I think he would have done well to step down as he had promised, after his first term. One must know when to leave, although it is not easy.

[Question] In the memory of my generation, the 1970's will remain the years of missed opportunities and dashed hopes. What is your balance-sheet for that period?

[Answer] I believe that I already have answered that question. An objective analysis of those years was presented in party documents and in the statements of the PZPR KC first secretary, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. Time is the best judge. I remember how the 6-year plan was criticized, and then how the 1960's were critically evaluated. The years passed, and the perspective of time allows the truth to be told about those years. The 1960's should be studied thoroughly, particularly the beginning and the end of the period. Many of the problems that were current then are still important today.

8536

CSO: 2600/1176

COOPERATION HAILED AS CORNERSTONE OF PEACE, STABILITY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 186, 4-5 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Wojna: "The Polish Reason of State"]

[Text] To say that the speech delivered by the general at the 21 July ceremonial session of the Sejm was very Polish is to say something so obvious that it needs no elaboration. Nevertheless, I would like to take the opportunity to bring attention to it here. The speech was Polish both in the choice of nuances and metaphors fully understandable only to Poles, and in the analysis of Poland's situation and her international position. In his exposition there was no doctrinaire, *a priori* prejudging of the issues presented. It was dominated by a concrete and realistic approach based on the conditions of time and place in the building of socialism on Polish soil.

Does the metaphor which Wojciech Jaruzelski used in his introduction in order to stress the multitude of trends which constitutes the history of Poland in the beginning of the twentieth century: the shots of the 1905 revolution, the sounds of the legionary song, the "International," "Warszawianka," "Gdy narod do boju," and "Czerwony sztandar"; do these not evoke in us a resonance to which a foreigner would be deaf?

This can also be said about his longer statement devoted to international affairs. The chief of the Polish government spoke from the position of the one and real Poland that exists between the Bug and the Odra. The foreign policy program which he presented does not result from dreamed up assumptions later applied to life, but from what actually exists: from the global system of forces, from the trends determining the development of the international situation, from Poland's geographic situation and its place in the great fronts dividing the world, and from its national and systemic interests.

For the first time in centuries, national security is again identified with the security of the system. We have achieved something the lack of which caused the tragedy of September 1939. The security of the capitalist system did not permit the idea of military cooperation with the Soviet Union in case of a German aggression in the summer of that year. Today there

is a common denominator between our country's security and its fundamental interests.

For people who think in historical terms, the general's placing particular stress on our relations with the Soviet Union and both German states was significant. These have been two constant themes in Polish history for over 2 centuries. Beginning with the middle of the 18th century, the peace and destiny of our state and nation depended above all on relations with our neighbors--in the west and east, as well as on relations between them. The price of the German-Russian rapprochements in the past 2 centuries was usually paid by Poland.

We solved this unfortunate interdependence which seemed to be the squaring of the circle by concluding in April 1945 a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, directed above all against the possibility of a renewed threat to the security of both of our nations by German militarism. This treaty and the intentions guiding it have remained until today one of the mainstays on which peace in Europe is based. This treaty determines not only the character of Polish-Soviet relations, but by the same token it bears on Moscow's policy in relation to the German problem. It is in our greatest national interest to maintain the unity of interests between Poland and the USSR on this issue.

For, more or less the past 2 years, i.e., since the conservative forces returned to power in Bonn, one can hear again in the policy of the FRG voices which prompt us to be alert. Putting in question the Odra and Nysa border has ceased to be only in the domain of professional revisionists. Now also some ministers in the government of Chancellor Kohl speak in the same spirit and in some issues they even go further. For some time now they have usurped the alleged right to the alleged concern over the alleged German minority in Poland, which cannot fail to evoke ominous associations with the situation 45 years ago.

Bonn's increased emphasis on the so called German policy; namely, on rebuilding the feeling of German unity with the thought of future reunification, is an offshoot of the same trend. On this issue Wojciech Jaruzelski was completely clear: "The prevention of the return of Great German expansionism, reanimated under the pretext of 'unification,' constitutes one of the key conditions of peace in Europe. This is the common duty of all nations which directly or indirectly suffered from the wars unleashed by German imperialism."

In this matter the voice of Poland is, without the least doubt, the voice of the nations of Europe.

In speaking harshly about the attitudes and policy of the rightist-nationalist forces, the PZPR Central Committee's first secretary did not identify the whole of West German society with them. In the course of the development of the process of normalization between our nations in the seventies, of which the treaty of 1970 is and will be the only basis, a considerable part of

public opinion in the FRG, particularly the one remaining under the influence of the SPD, opened up to a search for a realistic understanding with Poland. It is in the interest of both societies and of the whole of Europe to strengthen this trend on the Rhine, particularly if one considers that the dispute between the revanchist trend and the one which proclaims itself in favor of coexistence "has not been resolved yet in the Federal Republic."

In any case, Poland does not want to relinquish this positive achievement which has grown between our countries in the wave of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Unfortunately, the climate of relations between Bonn and Warsaw is today defined by anti-Polish statements of Ministers Windelen, Zimmermann, and Mertes.

The way in which these adverse and dangerous trends emerged in the FRG concurrently with the profound changes in the quality of the policy of the United States on the world problems of war and peace is not incidental. Close cooperation between the rightist circles of both countries has been the rule since U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes made his speech in September 1946 in Stuttgart, in which he offered support to German nationalism in its aspirations for changing the border with Poland, in exchange for the support of German militarism against the anti-Soviet course of U.S. policy. The policy of the government of Chancellor Kohl is in striking harmony with the arms race currently fanned by the administration of President Reagan. If one asserts that the current policy of US imperialism is the driving force of the dangerous tension in the international situation, then in the policy of Bonn one must see a transposition of this policy toward the European allies of the United States.

The results of the global strategy of U.S. anticomunism are hardly verbal alone. Parallel to the intensification of armaments is increasing imperialist aggression of varying nature--propaganda, economic, subversive, and armed--against states in various parts of the globe. They also strike against Poland, causing many losses, including those materially calculable. On this front the U.S. policy benefits from the support of rightist forces in the FRG.

Speaking about the experiences which accrue to us from the current stage of relations with the West, Wojciech Jaruzelski made no secret of the fact that they cause harm to Polish society. The results of it will not be easy to erase. Poles will not forget very quickly that once again the powerful West wanted to use of our nation and country as an instrument in a play against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist bloc. Bandyng about the slogans of sovereignty, it strove, in fact, toward the degradation of our subjective role in Europe.

This attitude of the NATO states only confirms the justness of the basic choice which we made in foreign policy with the birth of People's Poland. We tied our peace and security to the "anti-imperialist trend in the contemporary world."

What, then, defines the contemporary Polish reason of state? The general gave the following answer:

"To live among friends, to have their joint guarantee and at the same time to be a co-guarantor of the postwar territorial-political order in Europe: this is the essence of the Polish reasons of state."

This simple and generally understandable definition is the key to the understanding of Polish foreign policy. It is being implemented not only by the appropriate ministry, but by a very broad circle of forces and by political and social groups.

It is in the common interest of all of us to represent a common front in contact with the foreign states. The pronouncement in the Sejm by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski creates a very broad base for this.

12270  
CSO: 2600/1172

POLAND

BRIEFS

ECONOMISTS QUIZ PLANNERS--On 13 August officials of the Warsaw Chapter of the Polish Economics Society met with representatives of the Ministry of Metallurgy and the Machinebuilding Industry and the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers. During the discussions that were held the economists raised numerous questions addressed to the senior management of both of these national governmental agencies. For example, the question was asked as to whether any major progress will be made next year in bringing supply and demand into equilibrium in key marketplace sectors. Given the increase in Poland's population, not even the restoration of the level of industrial production that prevailed in 1979 would necessarily guarantee--considering the disequilibrium of the past 4 years--a stabilized consumer goods marketplace and a steady flow of producer goods. However, in those sectors where it does prove to be possible to achieve this kind of equilibrium there is a need to pay more attention to improving product mixes. It was said in conclusion that during the interval between the drafting of the main principles and the drafting of the final version of the 1985 national annual plan a thorough and careful study should be made of conditions in a variety of marketplace subsectors. It was pointed out that the plan consultation process should also embrace the non-production-related aspects of enterprise business activities. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Aug 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/1219

MILITARY, INTERIOR OFFICERS PROMOTED BY PRESIDENTIAL DECREE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 84 p 2

[Presidential Decree on the Promotion of Some Generals and Superior Officers]

[Text] By presidential decree there was a promotion of some generals and rear admirals, as well as an advancement to the ranks of major general and rear admiral of some colonels and captains first class in the Ministry of National Defense:

- the following lieutenants general were promoted to the rank of colonel general: Ion Hortopan, Mircea Mocanu, Iulian Topliceanu, Gheorghe Zarnescu;
- the following major generals were promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Constantin Calinoiu, Mihai Chitac, Ion Dandareanu;
- the following rear admirals were promoted to the rank of vice admiral: Mihai Aron, Stefan Dinu, Ioan Musat;
- the following colonels were promoted to the rank of major general: Achim Alstani, Grigorie Ghita, Stefan Gusa, Niculae Matei, Constantin Mereu, Nicolae Schiopu, Dumitru Velicu, Gheorghe Voinea;
- the following captains first class were promoted to the rank of rear admiral: Constantin Iordache, George Petre.

Also, by presidential decree, some generals were promoted and the rank of major general was given to some colonels in the Ministry of the Interior:

- Lieutenant General Iulian Vlad was promoted to the rank of colonel general;
- the following major generals were promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Epifanie Amohnoaie, Aristotel Stamatoiu;
- the following colonels were promoted to the rank of major general: Romeo Cimpeanu, Aurelian Mortoiu, Marin Neagoe, Victor Neculicioiu, Alexandru Tencu.

CSO: 2700/252

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIA'S YOUTH PAPER QUESTIONS SENTENCING OF SESELJ

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 84 p 3

[Unsigned editorial: "The Anguish and Distress of Dissent"]

[Text] The questioning nature of the lines below on the epilogue of a trial might at first seem (above all) like a plea for a review of that trial. However, there can, of course, be no question of that, since the attentive observer can easily see that the sentence pronounced is by no means the only epilogue of the trial of Vojislav Seselj, or, to be more precise, if perhaps for jurisprudence it is, for drawing more subtle political points the last thing one dare use is the restricted and straight-line logic whereby an indictment is taken with more or less success to a verdict. That is, this trial, and, incidentally, several other fresh events which by some "higher error" have settled from the ideological front into the benches of the court-room, show to what extent the effectiveness of government agencies (in this case the courts) can point up through a mirror image the defectiveness of the ideological struggle here and now. Not only in the domain of the struggle with arguments, which figures as an urgent need, but also a rule of behavior in the League of Communists, the news media and above all from political platforms. And not only because all of this persuades us that bad moves and "untimely criticism of ideas" which later come to a head in the courts only multiply the "enemies," but above all because every moment the ideological fighters "on this side" of the front are in disarray is pointed up only as a consequence of the uncovered flanks in other situations which are perhaps more important. To illustrate, when simultaneously with this trial (and we emphasize once again that that is what we are least of all concerned with here) a high party official publicly objects to that method of struggle, then the dilemma concerns not only what method is best suited to our situation, but, far more important, does there exist in all this a unity of views, not to mention a unity of views and action. Or when, on another occasion, the phrase is used in public party communication of "fraternal aid" of one "republic party" to another in settling accounts with enemies of socialism, then it would seem that the most important thing is not to determine whether the enemy is real or false and what other enemy would be more dangerous, but it is far more important for the destiny of the party how much unity it has in all of this on the agenda. Which is not to mention that the ideological struggle dare not be divided up among specialized areas, so that one republic or provincial LC is responsible for some types of adversaries and others for adversaries of some other strain.

The trial of the young doctor of sciences Vojislav Seselj has repeated a well-known dilemma: Whether first and more fiercely to dispute his ideas or the manner in which those ideas were "contested" a few days ago? Much like the dilemma which arose after the arrest of Milovan Djilas and his "pupils" in the "open university": Whether first (again) to refute his/their views or the act of arresting a group of people devoid of any political power whatsoever?

Intellectuals are necessary to Yugoslav society, just as they are to any other democratic society, but they are also dangerous; indispensable, but also potential dissidents. Is it possible that a generation of dissenters has been created today, intellectuals whose ideas and views on (future) social development are a nuisance and result in the involvement of even judicial panels? No, we still do not have any quasi-dissidents. Not only because it is really an absurdity to be a fearless dissident with a passport and the opportunity to depart for some possibly better world whenever you wish. But also because it is evident that at the moment we even have "dissenters" with social or at least material privileges, with opportunities of access in prestigious government institutions, dissenters who are the possessors of important government decorations.... Dissent might perhaps become a noun with some meaning, perhaps others might also "join in" it without much reflection if the intellectuals who call themselves dissenters and who are also called that by others actually offered some ... alternative. Our quasi-dissenters gather around ideas which are old and superseded, around names which are old and superseded, and as such they do not act as spokesmen for starting out on new paths, but as spokesmen of a return to the old, as uncertain and uninventive conservatives.

"If the classic parliamentary multiparty system were the ultimate form of democracy, then we would not have a situation in which precisely there social movements have arisen which are demanding much more, demanding what in essence the self-management movement is demanding in our country" (Vukasin Pavlovic in an interview with OMLADINSKE). The most essential thing one can be assured about is that the fear of dissent is exaggerated and that so far they have by no means expressed any sort of economic platform which would be the underpinning for the political changes which they propose. It is certain, although not acceptable to all, that a number of changes in personnel are indispensable in the gerontocracy of Yugoslav society, but their results would be sterile if they were not accompanied by different economic thinking. At the same time, this is also the position of certain frightened orators at political meetings who oppose the view that the ideological struggle cannot be conducted at present with greater fervor and self-confidence than the economic struggle.

Then it is not pointed up as a problem (solely) that we have some so-called dissenters, but also that we do not have ... true intellectuals, especially those who have a feel for what is new. In the name of what peace was the effort made to win over the enormous mass of intellectuals (or at least people who so call themselves) whose principal activity is to keep silent and keep their opinions in the drawer. Is it on behalf of that same peace that the "dissenters" are now being tried?

Dr Seselj, who has now been convicted, is a product of this society. First as a near-genius in his community, once the youngest doctor of sciences in this

country, he attempted to use his intellectual potential in very specific situations, which he was not called upon to do. But his involvement in several local political affairs of which it cannot be said that Dr Seselj was not involved on the right side, was not welcomed with approval. There was not much public discussion of the views of the young intellectual, who at that time was written off, until he returned to the problematical columns of the newspapers as Djilas' follower, a nationalist (which can be taken to be accurate from the quotes attributed to him) and an anarcholiberal (which was at one time caustically criticized as a problematical coinage even in party periodicals).

It is in this light that all the paradoxicalness of Dr Vojislav Seselj's trial is pointed up. What are those ideas (not only Dr Seselj's) which do not deserve to be discussed and, of course, contested, but do deserve to be examined in a court and to serve as the occasion for a sentence of 8 years in prison for someone who is more their spokesman than author, since similar views had been well known even before that. Is it impossible for some socially committed intellectual to enter into polemics with the specific political ideas of a specific person and to dispute them? To enter into polemics, using arguments, not the authority and strength of his own position.

Dr Seselj did not begin writing and publishing yesterday, but has done so for years, and it all fitted into a court trial lasting only 5 days. Who entered into polemics with his views back when he uttered them and wrote them? Dr Fuad Muhic in his own characteristic and inimitable manner in the weekly DANAS? And who before Dr Seselj's case reached the courts and only then thereby offered an occasion for ... a response?

The forums of sociopolitical organizations have been explaining and have contested the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" before their own membership. No one even tried (Why?) to analyze the stupidity of the slogan of "Four Republics" (!?!), which, to be sure, was not given such a fervent and specific effort as launching the first one, but it is on the basis of (even) it that Dr Seselj was convicted as one of the greatest enemies of the state from the end of the war to this date.

As such he will not have occasion to vanish into the promised land of America and to send back messages, as did the well-known thief Medenica, whose case already belongs to the distant past. We allowed him to disappear and convicted him in absentia without attempting even to scratch below the surface in the periodicals to see whether some very essential people also participated in making Medenica's elixirs and thereby certainly let an opportunity slip for commencing a process of moral recovery. It all ended with the principle "the mountain trembled and brought forth a mouse." It is perhaps a banal comparison, but why are we more afraid of dissenters who speak and write and (for the present) have no connections abroad than those who take away from us some percentage of the national income and vanish with the help of connections which they have abroad? The statements of the former can be disputed with more outspoken, intelligent and progressive statements if they are made at the right time and place; the actions of the latter cannot be erased in that way.

"Even today we sometimes think that we must and can resolve everything either administratively or through the courts. That is not the predominant tendency, but when we take some poet or some sociologist or philosopher to court, instead of 'fighting a book with a book,' instead of responding to unacceptable views with professionally competent and ideological criticism, then we are actually doing what the opposition forces wish us to do," Mitja Ribicic said in an interview with NIN.

It is clear that freedom of thought does not imply the babbling of nationalistic (abolishing education in the native language and the like) and other reactionary theses, but neither do the relevant articles of our laws signify, we hope that we will try every senile, disturbed or spiteful mind which shouts in the middle of the street, say, "Long Live the King" as an oppositionist and as a ... royalist(!).

Scandals and their number are in inverse proportion to the level of socialist democracy achieved and are an indicator of insufficiently developed socialist relations. And bans, trials and sentences are scandals which make the social atmosphere too hot for the ideological struggle to be conducted and worked out reasonably in it, a struggle which has been the subject of so many sentences coming from political meetings.

Aware both of the events in 1971 and those in 1981 especially, when even rifle bullets "were becoming" ideas, the court concluded that "... self-management and our government and social system has never before been so attacked by anyone, nor has anyone produced so much poison with the written and spoken word as Dr Vojislav Seselj has on this occasion." Thereafter the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE carried the report on the 8-year sentence very cynically in the department "From the Court Benches" where articles of the type "minor breaks into supermarket" are published.

The convicted defendant has announced an appeal to higher courts. Perhaps some new denouement of this case could restore to some extent the shaken confidence in the correctness and full independence of this high-speed trial during which the public received various rumors, ironic and unreliable criticism, and even denials from some witnesses....

In the case of Medenica we let the chance slip to begin a moral recovery; with Seselj we might take the opportunity for commencement of a new democratic growth. "We will fight books with books" is perhaps not the formula for all times and for all situations. But at present the fires of reactionary ideas are still put out better and more certainly with timely and well-documented disputation than with a strong blow of the court "gavel." Ideas have always reached the world, if the world has wanted to adopt them, even through prison bars.

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CSO: 2800/445

YUGOSLAVIA

DRAGOSAVAC SCORES IVAN SUPEK BOOK

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 84 pp 20-21

[Article by Dr Dusan Dragosavac; taken from the discussion immediately following promotion of the book "Historija i savremenost" [History and the Present], published by the "Vladimir Bakaric" Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Croatian LC Central Committee and the "Globus" Publishing House: "A Humanist With Inhumane Arguments"]

[Text] The League of Communists of Yugoslavia cannot accept any division in its rank by occupations or professions that would serve as the basis for someone to have greater or lesser rights or obligations. The League of Communists is a revolutionary organization. All must be equal in it. All have not only the right, but also the duty to participate in the ideological and political struggle as party members. Revolutions, liberation struggles, and the building of socialism cannot be done by various elites; this is the work of classes and entire peoples, and in it creative abilities and individuals then come to the fore. The proposition to the effect that a book can only be answered with a book restricts the revolutionary struggle of the League of Communists; this is contrary to the LCY Program, since it contests the right of revolutionaries to enter into ideological and political struggle.

Even in this book which we are presenting today polemics are waged against disputation of socialist and liberation revolutions, but those disputations have received publicity in the various media and from various speaking platforms where their spokesmen are not only not encountering resistance, but are even frequently praised and indeed even rewarded. If someone writes an anti-communist book, every party member is qualified and obliged to fight it.

It is a sign of weakness when those who operate from anticomunist, nationalistic and clericalistic positions do not encounter resistance in the milieu where they are, when there is no reaction to this.

Since neither socialism nor anticomunism are set off by some Chinese wall in general, and still less in Yugoslavia, every party member has not only the right, but also the duty, just like every citizen, to oppose the diverse hostile propaganda which is causing unrest among the working people. Those who would not allow this to others in the name of their milieu and nationality are as a matter of fact objectively defending an alien ideology.

## On the Market of Ideas

The essential thing is not whether something on the ideological front has been produced in Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo, or even somewhere abroad, since this is all on the same market, the market of ideas in Yugoslavia. I would mention in this connection a Zagreber, a "great humanist" who has written a book which as far as I know has been criticized in public only by Simo Kronja in BORBA. This is the book by Ivan Supek entitled "Krivokletnik na ljevici" [A Perjuror on the Left]. This entire book is on the line of Frankist ideology and practice, it is directed against the brotherhood and unity of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Here is a passage from the book: "Bosnia-Hercegovina does not stand on the south between Belgrade and Zagreb solely as a geographic notion, but rather as a region of conquests from both sides equal in area to the knezevina Serbia or the banovina Croatia. More than a third of the population was of the Muslim faith as a result of Turkish rule. These Muslims were mainly of Croatian origin and were old settlers, just like the Croats who were Catholics. When the Ottomans penetrated Bosnia in the 15th century, the heretic sect of the Bogumils had strong roots at that time; they connected Christianity with the Persian dualism of light and dark, good and evil. Their worst heresy was that they denied that Christ was God and the pope Christ's regent. Eternally exiled from Rome and the Catholic landed gentry, these Bogumils mostly went over to Islam. In many homes of converted Muslims a secret chamber was still preserved with the old Christian saints. After the Turkish withdrawal, in 1878 Austria annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina in accordance with the treaty at the Conference of Berlin. From that time on the Croatian Parliament and Serbian knezevina demanded annexation of the former pashaluk. The Hungarian Government also presented its claims out of an endeavor to obtain a direct access to the Adriatic Sea. The people of that mountain region were the last to be asked about this. Svetozar Markovic, founder of Serbian socialism, wrote about the policy of the knezevina of Serbia back in 1875 in OSLOBODJENJE: 'The stance of Serbia toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, and indeed also toward Montenegro and Bulgaria, was that of a conqueror. It never took a position toward them based on equality, which is why it was unable to win them over as allies.... Great Serbia had to become a military police state out of absolute necessity.'"

The author goes on to comment: "That conqueror's Black Hand would thrust a handful of young Serbs into the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne in Sarajevo, thereby igniting World War I, with the help, of course, of the stupidity of the Viennese court."

This clearly expresses the Frankist conception of the Muslims which Pavelic "perfected" in World War II with the thesis of "the flower of the Croatian people," whereby he "promoted the right" of the Ustashi against Bosnia-Hercegovina in the context of the quisling and fascist creation--the so-called Independent State of Croatia.

## Reactionary and Nationalistic Theses

The liberation struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Tito, untied that Gordian knot of constant conflicts between Croatian and Serbian nationalists by setting up Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as our other republics and all the nationalities and ethnic minorities living in it and the SFRY, regardless of the actual or imagined origin of this or that nationality, in such a way that they were all socially and ethnically equal. Svetozar Markovic, socialist and communist, and the Marxists cleared up the matter of the causes of World War I as well as of wars in general, and they never attempted the nationalistic conquest of Bosnia-Hercegovina for one or the other. And then the causes of war were long ago cleared up not only by Marxist theory, but even by serious bourgeois theory: the cause of both the first and the second world wars was the imperialistic and hegemonic bourgeoisie. It is strange that even the treatment of Young Bosnia should be done this way--altogether inaccurately and incorrectly; it is blamed for World War I, and the "stupidities" which the Viennese court committed, thus bringing about the fall of the monarchy, are nostalgically emphasized. These are reactionary and nationalistic theses, and they should be resolutely and seriously opposed.

Here is another passage from "Krivokletnik na ljevici": "One of the first secretaries of the Communist Party, Professor Sima Markovic, rejected the nationality question in the Kingdom in the name of class struggle at a time when the Comintern saw the main body of the revolutionary force to be in Croatia in the opposition. Although he was removed, allegedly because of that kind of deviation or rightwing opportunism, his view held on for quite some time in Serbia. Members of the leading nationality usually covered up nationalistic injustices with still worse social, evil and supposedly general, worldwide principles."

Here the views of Sima Markovic are presented in a context which implies not only that the CPY was supporting the hegemonic attitude of the Serbian bourgeoisie in the face of the correct attitudes of the Comintern, but also that the Serbs were hegemonists in general. It is no accident that an attempt has recently been made on the part of Serb nationalists to give the impression once again, using Sima Markovic, that the CPY had an incorrect attitude toward the Serbs.

The author attempts everywhere to launch Frankist ideology in his book, to diminish the treason of the various bourgeois politicians, and to sully the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Thus in one passage he says: "King Peter fled with the government to the British Empire, and the ban of the Croatian banovina, Dr Ivan Subasic, was to fly to London with a handful of leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party, while its president Macek would remain exiled on his estate."

Macek did not remain only in exile on his estate, nor was he permanently exiled, but above all on the day when the Independent State of Croatia was proclaimed, he called upon his followers not only to recognize, but even to accept Ustasha power. The fact is that some of his organizations for semimilitary protection were placed at the service of the Ustashis, whereby he helped

them to create some sort of authority under the occupier's sponsorship. Macek sabotaged the National Liberation Struggle the entire time and together with Pavelic left Zagreb before the National Liberation Army arrived.

The book also states: "After the fall of the Uzice Republic Tito moved with the Politburo and an elite of Serbian communists onto the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, and his supreme command remained separated from the main command of Croatia. In that way the highest party forums were also separated."

#### Revolutions Are Not Carried Out by Elites, But by Classes

Here again there is clear evidence that the position of the quislings and occupiers concerning the territorial partition of Yugoslavia. By contrast, it is a historical fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Tito did not recognize the fascist occupation, nor the fascist creations, including the Independent State of Croatia. Accordingly, Tito and the Partizans moved everywhere throughout Yugoslavia as their own territory, they were received everywhere as liberators, as spokesmen of brotherhood and unity. The borders and quisling creations of the occupiers did not prevent the unified national liberation struggle and socialist revolution on the unified territory of the present Socialist Federal Yugoslavia and indeed more widely. On the contrary, the CPY, headed by Tito, facilitated the unified strategy and tactics of the National Liberation Struggle and socialist struggle and gave sufficient opportunities for expression of initiative and specificity on all terrains ... in all the republics and provinces. Thus not only all the communists, but all who were progressive and antifascist, all the nationalities and ethnic minorities fought together in our struggle. Great revolutions are not carried out by elites, but by classes and peoples.

Andrija Hebrang is glorified throughout the entire book, which attacks Tito, the CPY Central Committee, Bakaric and the Croatian CP Central Committee, all of this in the context of Frankist nationalistic-hegemonic policy.

Here is what Supek says in connection with Andrija Hebrang: "He was first of all expelled from the Politburo because of his opposition to radical measures and to Tito's leadership. There were those who managed to set two old comrades completely at odds. Feeling that he had won a victory with the Croatian Partizans, Hebrang found it difficult to take the glorification of his former enemy (whose political wisdom he did not have a high opinion of). When he opposed the borders which were allotted to the Socialist Republic of Croatia (Croatia, regardless of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was formed separately), he was again criticized as a nationalist." And then he goes on to speak in the context of the fascist and "mass movement" theory about the attitude toward other nationalities in Croatia, and he says: "Although the National Liberation Struggle was mainly carried out in Croatia, the paradox remains, for instance, that the Croats did not have a majority even in the university party organization (much less at the top levels in the police and military) regardless of the statistics to the effect that Serbs represent only 13 percent in the Socialist Republic of Croatia (mostly the descendants of those who had fled from Turkish rule), and a number of other minorities is negligible."

Here again is that slogan which Mile Budak launched as Pavelic's ideologue and right-hand man--nonrecognition of others within the Independent State of Croatia, that is that baneful slogan: "Psine preko Drine" [Dogs on the Other Side of the Drina].

Further, according to this, the percentage of them is small--the other ethnic minorities are negligible, so that on the basis of this kind of ideology some people draw the conclusion, What claims do they have in Croatia?

It is strange that the scientific institutions of which this intellectual is a member have not reacted to this book. I do not mean by this that they should have written or that individuals should have written a book in response, since that was cleared up long ago, but this could be dangerous in the situation in which our society and the world now find themselves. It is certain that if this criticism becomes public, anticomunist propaganda of various kinds will spring up and that intellectual will begin to talk about how their rights to speak are disputed, how their thought is suppressed from positions of power, how human rights and the freedom of thought are threatened. However, this is not a question of science, nor of any important idea, but rather of a dangerous poison, and the essential thing is to state what it is.

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